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Angus Calder

THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO;

ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

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ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

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THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

CHAPTER I.

The Chinese settlers in Java.

WHEN the Dutch first landed in Java, they found a scattered population of Chinese labouring in every province of the island. The fruits of their industrious energy were already apparent. Commerce, agriculture, gardening, and domestic architecture were carried on by them with equal vigour and skill.[1] They laid out sugar plantations, manufactured arrack, raised harvests of rice, and freighted their junks with every valuable commodity. Wherever, indeed, one of that ingenious race was settled[2], the soil sprang into cultivation, the earth was ransacked for its treasures, the forests were searched for gums or perfumed woods, and a little fortune was collected in his dwelling. The low-class

Their industry.

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 83.

[2] See Nieuhoff. in Churchill, ii. 258.

Character of the Chinese.

Chinaman, however, is as addicted to gaming, as to industry; and more to fraud than to either.[1]

Java, fertile and beautiful, was then thinly peopled. China, at least in its maritime provinces, was densely crowded. The commercial spirit was strong in the inhabitants of her cities, who continually sought in the neighbouring islands new materials for their trade. Even before the arrival of Europeans, they spread over the Archipelago; but afterwards settled in more considerable numbers. China was governed by a reckless and savage despot, who was perpetually engaged in a struggle with rebels more ferocious than himself. The Dutch possessions in Java seemed to offer security at least, and comparative freedom. Emigrants, consequently, were attracted in great numbers to Batavia.

Their government.

The expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, had driven crowds of them to Java. There the inflexible character of Dutch policy refused to comprehend under its care the new interests thus created; and, in conformity with a natural law[2], the interest that was not allowed to be friendly, became hostile to them. An edict was issued, in 1723, to forbid their admission; but it was powerless to shut them out. They increased in wealth and influence. Their prosperous fortune excited jealousy among the Europeans.[3] Their numbers, their riches, and the authority which waits on success, created in them at once rivals and enemies of the Dutch. All possible means were employed to check their im-

Increased immigration.

A.D. 1740.

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[1] See Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels*, 364. Also, Dampier, ii. 136, 137.

[2] Guizot, *Moyens de Gouvernement*, 203.

[3] Yet in 1632 the Chinese had struck a medal in honour of the Dutch governor, with a laudatory inscription, in proof of their respect. Von Loan, *Hist. Metallique*, ii. 204.

migration, but to no purpose. The trade between the two countries, which was greatly developed under the administration of Zwardekroon, contributed to augment the evil. An annual fleet of junks brought not only merchants, planters, house-builders, and gardeners, to pursue their various occupations, but criminals and vagabonds of every description, to whom the protecting laws of Holland appeared to offer an asylum.[1]

Policy of the Dutch.

Devices of all kinds were adopted to check the settlement of the Chinese. Plans were arranged for disgusting them with life in the Dutch possessions. They were burdened with odious taxes; their offences were visited with arbitrary punishments; fearful executions took place; insults and vexations were added to a list of tyrannical restrictions, that the government of Batavia might be more hateful to the emigrants than the despotism of their own emperor. A series of regulations, in particular, was issued with respect to their residence in the city.

Restrictions on the Chinese.

Every Chinese was required to be furnished with a written permission to settle, signed by a member of the Regency, and delivered on the payment of about ten shillings. He was forbidden to ride out beyond the jurisdiction of the city, unless by express indulgence from a commissary appointed to watch the interests of the natives. All who could not explain and prove their means of subsistence were arrested and sent to China. Power also was given to the officers of justice to imprison any Chinaman on bare suspicion of an offence. By these and other laws the Dutch endeavoured to render their sway unendurable to the settlers. It was, at the best, but a barbarous policy. Indeed, the incapacity, the selfishness, the insolence, and the tyranny of the governors-general from 1725 to 1737 are admitted by one of their writers.[1]

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[1] Crawfurd, ii. 429.

Valckenier, their successor, distinguished his administration by an exaggeration of the system which oppressed the Chinese. It is said that at this period they were remarkably turbulent, conspiring even to subvert the authority of Holland. There was at Batavia a man named Thioesia, son of the Chinese Emperor, or some great noble of that country, who expiated in exile a political intrigue which had been defeated. In Java he pursued the conduct which had expatriated him, and found ready accomplices in the more adventurous of his exasperated countrymen. He concerted a rebellion, and was promised the throne of Jakatra. Encouraged by these hopes the Chinese became more turbulent, and the Dutch more solicitous to close their colonies against them.

Conspiracy imputed to them.

They continue their settlement.

Nothing was effectual to prevent their settlement. A strong interest attracted them to the island, and rouleaus of gold from China relaxed the integrity of the Dutch officials. Measure after measure was concerted, but the population of these industrious strangers rose, and multiplied in alarming numbers. In 1740, therefore, it was resolved, since plots were continually in machination, and the Chinese fretted in ceaseless turbulence, to call arms to the aid of the law.

The Dutch resolve to expel them.

Grounds of the outrage.

The grounds of the subsequent outrage are shifted by Dutch and Javan writers. It is asserted on the one hand that Valckenier was so liberal to the Chinese that they grew to a power and prosperity only second to that of the conquerors themselves. In consequence of this they monopolised the produce of the land, and excited jealousy among the native tribes.[1] Quarrels arose, and the rivals spilled blood in their encounters. It was, therefore, we are told, in the interest of peace, that the Dutch committed their famous crime against the alien settlers. An opportunity was soon found. A number of Chinese, accused of misconduct in the neighbourhood of Batavia, were arrested and transported to Ceylon, or, as the native historians assert, carried out to sea in a Dutch vessel and drowned, with the exception of a few who escaped and inflamed their countrymen by an account of the catastrophe. The selection of persons to be exiled or made victims of this noyade, was ordered to be made of the humbler class, or those who wore blue clothing. The officers employed received, however, secret instructions, and arrested many not distinguished by this badge of poverty — infamous in most countries.

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[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 36.

Dutch violence.

Commotion among the Chinese.

Large bodies of Chinese congregated near the town, unawed by any military force. Inflamed by the outrage, they fled to arms, and in their anger committed great ravages in the neighbouring district. The council of Batavia was alarmed. Some peaceful merchants in the city were arrested and put to the torture. Few men have fortitude enough to resist the pangs of the rack. Taught by their judges, they confessed a plot to massacre the Dutch. The name of Thioesia was deeply implicated. Great excitement spread through the population. The insurgents outside the walls fought the troops. Neither could claim a victory. A conflagration occurred in the Chinese quarter. It was declared to be the signal for a general massacre of the Christians. Some terrible danger was apprehended. Valckenier assembled his council, and proposed to cut off all the Chinese in Batavia. The idea excited some indignation, and Baron Imhoff[1], whose humanity did honour to his name, solemnly protested against it.

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[1] Unscrupulous and tyrannical they generally are, as well as fraudulent and crafty. Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 81.

The Chinese began to assemble near the sugar mills of a village near Batavia. The Dutch proclaimed to all those in the city that they might, if willing, join their countrymen. Those who remained were required to shave their mustachios as a sign; to give up every sharp weapon, from a sword to a penknife, in their possession; to light no fires and kindle no lamp in their dwellings. Not one man went. The insurgents then made an attack, and were repulsed with considerable loss.

Insurrection.

Still pretending to fear a massacre, and terrified by the spreading rebellion, the Dutch fell on the Chinese and cut them down wherever they were to be discovered. A few timid, panic-stricken citizens commenced the work; but it soon assumed the character of a deliberate massacre. Within a few hours the regency gave it a positive sanction, suggesting only that women and children should be spared.

A massacre proclaimed.

A band of sailors from the fleet was called on shore to take a share in this sanguinary task.[2] The rallying cry of Treason! was started through the city. The work of slaughter was continued with terrible regularity. The Chinese dwellings were forcibly entered. The wretched men, helpless, unarmed, making no more resistance, says the native historian, than a nest of young mice, were dragged out and put to death in front of their doors. Batavia was converted into a vast slaughter-house. All the streets flowed with blood; every where the

Terrific tragedy in Batavia.

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[1] See Macaulay, *Essays*, 593—612.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 235.

remains of the dead encumbered the way; every where the murderers carried on their occupation. Throughout the city, shouts and shrieks resounded, some from the dying wretches, others from their merciless enemies.[1] For fifteen days the massacre continued, with unsparing ferocity, until ten thousand victims had fallen, when an armistice was proclaimed. Almost with truth, therefore, did a voyager say, "It is better to commit ourselves to the mercy of a Turk in Europe, than a Dutchman in India if he hath the upper hand."[2]

Envoys sent to China.

When they had dealt this bloody vengeance on the Chinese, the Dutch took precautions to secure their trade from injury. Like the Spaniards, they dispatched ships of war to meet the trading fleets from China. Some of the injured natives, who had been conciliated, were employed to inspire confidence into their countrymen. A letter of excuses, couched in terms of humble submission, was addressed to the Emperor.[3] He treated the missive with neglect, but took no measures to punish the massacre of his subjects. Possibly he was well content to lose ten thousand daring men, whose vigour might be as dangerous to him as it had been profitable to themselves.

A. D. 1740. Conduct of Valckenier.

Valckenier then changed his tone, and blustered in imperial strain, convoking a session of councillors on the 6th December, 1741. To them, in virtue of his charter of power, supported as it was by a company of soldiers, stationed in the hall of the council house, he addressed a speech, accusing them of opposition to his will. Three councillors, among whom was the humane Imhoff, were the peculiar objects of his anger. They were arrested

Arrest of three Councillors.

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[1] Crawfurd, ii. 430. [2] Payne, *Voyage of the Flying Eagle*, 6.

[3] See, for reception of embassies by Chinese emperors, Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.*, English translation, 133.

and sent to Holland. The Governor soon after followed them. The story of his deeds, however, had raised a storm in Europe, and at the Cape he met an order for his arrest and trial for the illegal imprisonment of his colleagues, and the massacre of the ten thousand. The three councillors whom he had subjected to punishment for their endeavour to save the Chinese, had hastened, on their return to the United Provinces, to lay an account of the transaction before the supreme Council of Directors. Baron Van Imhoff, who drew up their report, appended to it a plan of various reforms, which bore such weight with the government that they appointed him governor-general in place of his accuser. The investigation into Valckenier's conduct was protracted through several years, and he died a prisoner in the citadel of Batavia.

Baron Imhoff.

The Chinese war.

No change of policy could now save Java from another visitation of war. The Chinese, driven from their intrenchments near Batavia, retreated to the east of the island, and opened negotiations with the Susunan of Mataram, who longed to break the yoke of Dutch influence. Some of them, it is said, embraced the faith of Mohammed to secure the good will of the natives. Pakubowono resolved to aid them, but secretly until the struggle was drawing to a close, when he might declare for the stronger.

Dutch conquest.

In the course of their wars, the Dutch had learned to adopt a system adapted to the theatre they occupied. It was found of little avail to destroy an enemy's town, or even his capital city,—the houses being constructed of branches, mats, and atap thatch, restored by a few days' labour. To waste the site was therefore useless, since a city might be erected on another spot before the havoc was complete. Consequently, to hold the country in subjection, they built forts to command

Forts erected.

important positions, and sprinkled Celebes, Borneo, Timor, the Moluccas, and Java, with such edifices. There was one near Kartasura, the metropolis of Mataram, garrisoned by a small company of soldiers. The Sultan perceived he must capture this, or lose all chance of success. He proceeded with consummate treachery. Preparing to attack them, he still corresponded with the Dutch, promised to destroy the Chinese, and sent three commanders with the necessary qualities of craft and resolution to receive their final orders.[1]

The Sultan's policy.

A conference was held outside the fort. The chief Dutch officer approached and saluted the envoys. They returned his courtesy, but, on the firing of a signal shot, attempted to plunge their poinards in his heart. A few persons standing near were instantly cut down. A movement was made by a body of Javanese towards the fort, but the gates had closed, and the assailants were overpowered.[2]

War commenced.

At this juncture the vast army of Chinese poured itself out of the woods, united to those of the Susunan, and gave the assault. The garrison immediately surrendered on a pledge of mercy. Pakubowono was possessed by a momentary inclination to be humane. He ordered the Christians to suffer the initiatory ceremonies of the Moslem creed, and be admitted among the faithful. The next minute, however, his barbarous spirit revived, and he ordered them all to be beaten to death with bludgeons.[3]

Javan barbarity.

When intelligence of this massacre reached the Dutch at Samarang, they pompously absolved the Pangeran of Madura from allegiance to the Susunan, and as his wife was sister of that prince, he sent her back to him with a message of courtesy. He then proclaimed an edict against the Chinese, and threw himself vigorously into the war. From Kartasura the united army of Javans and Celestials—numbering, it is stated, more than two hundred thousand men—marched against Samarang. They levied siege; but a sortie of twelve thousand soldiers put them to the rout. Emissaries were then sent to effect a rupture between the Chinese and their native ally, who was easily induced to forsake the cause he had adopted.

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[1] Crawfurd, ii. 363.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 241.

[3] Native MS., quoted by Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 363.

Duplicity of the native prince.

He pretended that all recent occurrences had been the acts of his wuzeer, Nata Kasuma, who was still with the united army. The Dutch suggested to him a means of serving them. He ought, they said, to preserve an appearance of friendship with the Chinese until a concerted moment, when his troops might put them to the sword. He acceded.

Massacre of the sick and wounded.

Nata Kasuma received intelligence of the project. He revealed it to the Chinese, and told them it would be prudent to abandon the sick and wounded, with those who were worn out by fatigue, and march away. This plan, characteristic of a savage, and not unworthy of Napoleon, was followed. The wretches, thus deserted, were at once slaughtered by the crafty Javans, and their heads, packed in baskets, were sent to the Governor of Samarang as a warrant of good faith. The Chinese retreated towards the east, still accompanied by a number of Javan adherents, took the route towards the capital of Mataram, and elected to the throne, Kuning, the grandson of Mangkorat Mas, a child only ten years old. They were followed by the Susunan's army, still commanded by Nata Kasuma, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, but agreed to deceive the enemy by fighting a mock battle.

Mock battles.

His friends, unaccustomed to these feats, inquired how it could be done. "Father," replied the Javan chief, "such a battle is conducted by us in perfect earnestness, with mutual slaughter, for not the smallest compassion is shown to the people. Keeping your secret and saving the life of the chief, you may exterminate the rest."[1]

Spirit of conquest.

The singular feature of this answer consists, not in the sentiment, but in its daring avowal. The spirit is doubtless no more inhuman than that of most conquerors who have deluged the earth with blood, to appease the lust of their ambition. Unfortunately, however, few possess the candour to display, without reserve, the absolute tyranny of one passion in their hearts; and men are thus seduced to lavish titles of glory on adventurers who would have based their fortunes on the utter desolation of the world. The sanguinary nature of the war was preserved throughout. Nata Kasuma proclaimed a reward for the ear of every Chinese; — he had previously offered a price for the head of every Dutchman killed. Yet while these savage passions raged among them, the tone of their hostile correspondence wore always the mildness characteristic of Javan language. Martupuro, a chief of the island, in alliance with the Chinese, and attached to the false Susunan, wrote thus to his enemy: "There is a wild bull to the north of the range of Kandang, that longs to gore the white elephant to the south of it."

Language of Java.

Figurative as the style is, it requires interpretation, even when translated from the original language. The wild bull was the Javan emblem of courage, and represented the young usurper whose army had encamped to the north of the Kandang hills. The old Susunan was indicated contemptuously by the white or female elephant. The reply of the challenged chief was couched in similar terms. "He knew there was a buffalo calf to the north of the Kandang hills accompanied by a little fugitive ragged animal of a goat, of both of whom he would soon render a good account." By the buffalo calf was meant Kuning, and by the goat, Martupura himself, who had violated the Javan laws of beauty by wearing a beard. Words of grosser signification than these are seldom employed, for the dagger, carried in every man's girdle, is a check on the tongue.[1]

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[1] Native History, quoted by Crawfurd, ii. 365.

Nata Kasuma, to continue his plan, returned to the Susunan's camp; but the old sovereign was aware of his wuzeer's treachery, and, sending him on a false mission to the Dutch, they transported him to Ceylon.[2]

Progress of the Chinese. A. D. 1742.

Meanwhile the Chinese marched rapidly upon Kartasura, enjoying by the way several insignificant triumphs, and leaving behind a country blasted by their passage. The resident prince, in the capital, escaped, but left his mother and his wives to the mercy of the conquerors. The Chinese seized them, subjected them to their licentious violence, and compelled the youthful princesses to strip naked and dance for their gratification.[3] In the midst of these revels they received accounts of a Madurese army on the march, and fled with their young Susunan to a retreat among the mountains. Hence they descended from time to time and fought several battles, which proved of little consequence to either of the belligerents.

Their brutality.

A. D. 1743. End of the war.

At length, however, in spite of an alliance with another powerful chief, the rebels were compelled to disperse, and their young chief, the usurper Kuning, delivering himself up to the council at Samarang, was banished to Ceylon. Relieved from this war, the Dutch

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[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 366.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 243.

[3] Crawfurd, ii. 367.

A. D. 1745.

turned to another. Their ally of Madura, actually in dependence on them, quarrelled with the Susunan, attacked a Netherlands vessel, put some seamen to death, was defeated in two or three engagements, but gained one victory. He then proceeded to Banjarmassin, whence he intended to sail for Bencoolen, and apply for assistance from the English. But the prince of the Bornean province, on an application from Batavia, delivered up the fugitive, with his son-in-law. The one was transported to the Cape of Good Hope, the other to Ceylon. A short interval of peace succeeded, and Java was allowed a little period to recover from the exhaustion of these conflicts.[1]

Interval of peace.

A. D. 1746. The native capital changed.

In 1746, Baron Van Imhoff, the new governor-general, visited the Susunan of Mataram. In compliance with a national belief that a city once visited by misfortune is for ever ill-fated, that prince had removed from Kartasura to Surakarta, not many miles distant, which thenceforward continued to be the metropolis of the empire.[2]

Conduct of Imhoff.

Imhoff met the Susunan at this place, and by his haughty conduct so irritated the Javan princes that they withdrew by night from the city. Two chiefs, Mangkubumi and Mangkunagoro, headed them, and a new rebellion broke out, which extinguished the last spark of independence remaining to the Mohammedan states of Java. After a passing notice of the only important incidents which occurred in the other parts of the Archipelago, we shall be for a while solely engaged with this memorable war.

The governor-general was sedulous in his efforts to establish the influence of his country wherever any profit could result from it. He obtained a new treaty with Banjarmassin, was allowed to build a fort at Tubarnio, and a factory at Pulo Tatas; the total monopoly of pepper was granted; and the company engaged to defend its ally from every enemy.[1]

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[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 246.

[2] Ibid. 224.

A. D. 1747.
The Philippines.

In the Philippines the old policy was followed by the Spaniards. In 1747 another royal order arrived at Manilla for the expulsion of the Chinese, but it fell to the ground.[2] Perhaps the more liberal of the settlers comprehended a loftier scheme of colonial economy; perhaps they feared that the objects of this hostile edict might be roused by the example of their countrymen in Java.

A. D. 1748.
Progress of Holland.

The advance of Holland was rapid, and her influence spread widely through the islands; but this, nevertheless, was the period of her decline. England was rising, by means of her new fleets; a vast theatre was opening in India to her arms; the Chinese massacre made the Dutch company disreputable in Europe, and its affairs were confused to an extreme degree.[3] It appeared to the directors that a prince was required to revive the sinking credit of the association, and the Prince of Orange was installed governor-general of the Indies. Still the process continued, and while Great Britain was laying the foundation of her unrivalled empire, the Netherlands' declined with the decline of their commerce.[4]

Change of administration.

A. D. 1749.

In 1749, Pakubowono the Second died. On his death-

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[1] Leyden, *Sketch of Borneo*, 24.

[2] It is difficult in this age to realise an idea of the narrow and sordid principles on which Spain then carried on her trade. During the war with England, in 1740, the introduction of English merchandise into Spain was punished with death. Law published at Cadiz, March, 1740. Montesquieu, xx. 13.

[3] Baron d'Imhof, *Considérations sur l'Etat présent de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales. Appendix to Dubois. Vie des Gouverneurs, &c.*

[4] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, ii. 119.

Territorial aggrandisement in Java.

bed, conscious of the weakness to which his dynasty had been reduced, he submitted to terms dictated at his pillow by the Dutch, and signed a paper "abdicating for himself and his heirs the sovereignty of the country, conferring the same on the Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dispose of it, in future, to any person they might think competent to govern it for the benefit of the Company." It has been insinuated that a false translation in Javan was imposed on the sultan when he put his seal to this document of abdication; but it is improbable. With a recommendation of his children, and especially the heir apparent, to those who were successors to his power, the Susunan died.[1]

The Dutch supreme.

Thenceforward the Netherlands East India Company was supreme in Java, and the native princes held their dignities in fee. Still the position of Susunan, though stripped of its pride and splendour, was held, among the native chiefs, to be a brilliant object of ambition. While, therefore, the Dutch elected to a throne without authority, a grandson of the late sovereign, a child of nine years, Mangkubumi with his adherents was busy collecting stores, troops, and arms. At length he was at the head of a large army and encountered the Dutch and their Javan allies at Kadir. A fierce battle ensued. He routed his enemies completely—a signal instance of success against European troops, especially when their superiority of arms and discipline was aided by the local knowledge and experience of a native ally. Other disasters ensued to the Dutch; and during a considerable period the rebels followed their enemies through every district they visited. In 1752 the

A. D. 1751.

A. D. 1752.

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[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 249.

greatest battle of the war was fought, when Mangkubumi again put his foes to flight.

Success of their diplomacy.

The Dutch, in many instances, were more fortunate in diplomacy than in arms. For, while they suffered many military reverses, they seldom failed in negotiating the terms of a contract. The sultan of Bantam, by a convention dated 16th April, 1752, resigned his Javan territories, with the Sumatran Lampongs, to the council of Batavia. They restored him his title, but retained the power of governors. He was installed as a ruler *in fief*, and engaged to supply, at a price fixed by the company, an annual amount of pepper. To remind him perpetually of the vassalage he had accepted, a fort was erected, whose shadow almost fell upon his palace.

War in Java.

In the other parts of Java, while a terrible eruption from a mountain in a neighbouring island, with an extraordinary eclipse, a visitation of plague, and a portentous famine desolated the country, Mangkubumi and Mangkunagoro proceeded in their victorious career. They were men of no common order. They were brave, intelligent, and persevering; but their success is nevertheless attributed, with great reason, to the imbecility of their enemies.[1] Their fame, prowess, energy, and skill, were increased by the pusillanimity, negligence, and incapacity of the Dutch leaders, who were frequently surprised, more frequently defeated, and never found completely developing their successes. Consequently the rebel chiefs possessed other than personal advantages. Probably they would have succeeded in utterly driving the Europeans from Java, but for the jealousy which invariably ruined the cause of the native powers. One had married the daughter of the other,

Civil strife.

A. D. 1753.

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[1] Crawfurd, ii. 368.

yet, notwithstanding this tie, though united by the bond of a common cause, with a common enemy, and a common end to gain, they became estranged and fought a battle, in which Mangkubumi was defeated.[1]

A. D. 1753.

Intervention of the Dutch.

The Dutch sought to conciliate the victorious chief, and offered to restore the body of his father, who had died an exile in Ceylon, if he would unite his arms with theirs against Mangkubumi. He declined the negotiation, and the three belligerents prepared to contend for the supremacy of Java.

A. D. 1754.

Mangkubumi, though now alone, with two enemies in the field against him, was victorious in every battle. At length the Dutch, with their dependent ally, the Susunan—who was still, indeed, a child—yielding to fear, endeavoured to check his conquests by concession, and succeeded.[2] They proposed he should rule half the Mataram empire, with the dignity, power, revenue, and title of sultan. He consented to the plan, and entered into alliance with his humbled enemies, fixing his residence at Yugyacarta, a considerable town in Mataram.[3]

A. D. 1756.

A. D. 1757. League with native princes.

The triple league then carried their arms against Mangkunagoro, who had increased in power and skill, and offered to defy their united forces. A price was set on his head—no inconsiderable stimulus to the resolution of a desperate man. In the absence of the new sultan he descended on his capital, and sacked it; thence continuing to march in triumph through the island until the three confederated powers saw the necessity of negotiating terms of peace. They might never, indeed, be overwhelmed by their audacious foe, but his active courage and vigilant strategy might keep them in the field to the perpetual destruction of that peace on which the happiness of Java depended. Ambassadors were sent to offer him terms of amity. He was not easily brought to consent, but ultimately yielded on receiving the grant of an estate of "four thousand families," where he settled himself, rich in honour and abundant in revenue, with all the glories of the campaign on his head.[1]

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[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 250.

[2] Ibid. 251.

[3] Crawfurd, ii. 369.

A. D. 1758.

Second war of Java concluded.

Thus was concluded the second war of Java, which had desolated the island for twelve years.

Devastation of the island.

The finest provinces wasted, thousands slain on both sides, myriads taken from industry, the freedom of the island gone; such were the results of these struggles, in which the thirst of aggrandisement, in a few individuals, broke up the peace of millions. To the Dutch they brought a name of power; but the war had cost them 4,286,000 florins, and they never reaped from it an adequate advantage.

Cost of the war.

They reserved to themselves, on the conclusion of this struggle, the actual government of all the northern maritime provinces from Cheribon to the utmost east of Madura. The interior and southern territories, from the Cheribon isles to Kalang, were nominally restored to the native powers—divided in nearly equal portions between Mangkubumi and the Susunan, from whose share, however, four thousand chachas—each chacha being as much land as an ordinary family could cultivate—were appropriated for the grant to Mangkunagoro. The Dutch were now paramount in the finest island of the world, and the native princes were no more than their viceroys.[2]

Final agreement.

They agreed to stimulate the culture of those products chiefly valued by the Dutch, to be supplied at a fixed price. At Surakaria, the capital of the Susunan, and Yugyacarta, the capital of the Sultan, forts were built, and the palaces of the Javan sovereigns were overlooked by the guns of the merchant conquerors. A resident to transact affairs and a guard of soldiers aided in the establishment of their supreme and permanent authority. The policy of a great statesman, with wisdom enough to create a cohesive principle in this insular empire, might have commenced at that date a splendid era in the colonial history of Holland. Java was conquered; the materials were laid out; and humanity would have rejoiced had the old system been succeeded by a liberal, civilising administration. The dawn of that change, however, had not yet arrived.

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[1] Crawfurd, ii. 369.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 253.

Troubles in Borneo.

During the last year of this war, troubles broke out in the Bornean state of Benjarmassin, and its young prince Tasmid was forced to seek the aid to which he was by treaty entitled from the Dutch. They agreed to subdue the rebels, in consideration of his forcing the product of pepper to 15,000 piculs every season. When the contest was terminated, they induced him to cede to the Company the districts of Passir, Koti, Beton, and Kutta Mudingen. He pushed forward the exertions of his subjects in the pepper plantations, until they at length yielded, during some years, 600,000 pounds. These were genuine commercial advantages. The cost of their establishment on this coast was almost 1300*l.* annually, and thirty men were counted sufficient to garrison their fort at Tatas.

Pepper treaties.

The Dutch in Timor.

History of that island.

They introduced themselves also into another country — the curious island of Timor, on the north-eastern boundaries of the Archipelago. There a despotic kingdom had once flourished, and some lustre had signalised it, but its strength was fallen, and several petty states divided the fragments. Some of these, by treaties, signed in 1752, and 1757, declared themselves under

Netherlands' protection, hasted to fly on board their vessels, and gave her, in name at least, the supremacy.

Its position.

Timor is an island of the second rank, the principal in the chain which is extended from Java to the New Guinea group. Its position is remarkable as forming a link between Asia and the Australian world, two regions which so vividly contrast in their productions, in their people, in their climate, and in all the aspects of their natural history. Politically it is the limit on the south-east of the Indian Archipelago, commanding the approaches from the north-west. Its formation is partly madreporous and schistous. Presenting a vegetation far from so vigorous and rich as that prevailing in the neighbouring isles, it is distinguished by less bloom than the Moluccas, and less poverty than New Holland.

Characteristics.

Hills.

Natural divisions.

The island is ribbed throughout its length by a low chain of hills, dividing two natural systems. On the one side, the species of animals which abound in the Archipelago are found; on the other, those of Australia. In the vegetable kingdom a similar phenomenon is remarked, and two sets of rivers stream down the slopes to either sea. The hills range from 4000 to 6000 feet in elevation. No volcanoes are found, and no traces of their action; consequently there is, in the aspect of the country, little to attract. The heights are rugged, bald, and forbidding. The low lands are partly shaded by woods, partly spread into level tracts, sterile on the sea. Scattered over these are gigantic blocks of rock, of eccentric form, which seem in the distance the ruins of some vast Runic city. They form as many strongholds to the savage tribes in time of war.

Fantastic aspect.

Minerals.

In its productions, Timor offers no great variety or wealth. Gold is found in flakes and dust, in the beds of streams, and probably copper will be discovered. The inferior nature of the soil, the superstition and the barbarism of the people, contribute to stint agriculture. Cotton is grown, with maize, numerous fruits, and vegetables. Trees of various kinds exist in the forest, and animals of the humbler species, though in small variety. Unlike most of the islands, where the verdure springs from the brim of the sea, and climbs the hills to their summits, Timor is encircled on its coasts with rugged elevations all but naked, while in the interior plains well-peopled and richly watered valleys are found. A population of about 200,000 — natives, Chinese, Malays, and Papuans — inhabit it. The aboriginal stock is of the straight-haired yellow [1] Polynesian race, resembling in some particulars the Dyaks of Borneo [2], and the Alfoeras of the Molucca group.[3] They welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival, and have probably escaped little scathed by their civilisation. Perhaps their soil was not prolific enough in precious metals, or their woods in perfumed gums, or their plantations in sweet spices, to bring upon them the curse of European passions.

Agriculture.

Barren coasts.

The interior valleys.

Inhabitants.

In the Philippines the lowest of these passions, that of selfishness, displayed itself as a characteristic of the Spanish genius. The Chinese, growing dangerously wealthy, were attacked and expelled in obedience to the royal edict, which had slept in the dust for ten years. As well, however, might they attempt to drive back the sea to China. Proclamations from the throne at Madrid possessed no magic for the hardy merchants who owed allegiance to the Solar and Lunar family. They again settled down in whole colonies near Manilla; they multiplied with strange rapidity. Their prosperity never

The Philippines.

Spaniards and Chinese.

A.D. 1759.

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[1] See Flinders, *Voyage*, ii. 254.

[2] Nieuhoff, Churchill, ii. 259.

[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 161.

forsook them. Perhaps the Spaniards, stricken as they were with sloth, imputed to their vigorous competitors some sorcery in the culture of the earth, and the exchange of commodities. Idleness never failed to ascribe witchery or fraud to its successful rival. An enemy, however, was now preparing to take up arms and bring to humility the patrician traders, who confessed themselves, with all the pride of their ancient civilisation, unable to contend in the arena of industry with a horde of heathen artificers and husbandmen. The king of Bruné had ceded to them in 1750, his claims in Palawan[1]; but where, in the aspect of that wild island, is there a trace to signify its possession by a civilised power? Pirates have made it a desert.[2] The English had multiplied their settlements on the coast of Sumatra. Great advantages accrued to their trade from these depôts where the products of the islands were collected. Suddenly, however, the French flag appeared on the western borders of the Archipelago, and a fleet swept the whole line of Sumatra, destroying every establishment our countrymen had formed. The English made no immediate attempt to recover these possessions, for the pretensions of her rival in India were giving way in all directions before the valiant arms of Clive, and the power of France was visibly declining. Conquests eclipsing those of Cortez and Pizarro, were widening their dominion in Asia; French standards were borne triumphantly from Kensington Palace to the city; North America added the saddened glories of Quebec; and an immense fleet was driven by Hawke into the rivers of Brittany. On every side their trophies, all brilliant, if some were barren, multiplied to the delight of the nation. They were preparing, moreover, the

A. D. 1760.

English driven from Sumatra.

British triumphs.

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[1] Zuniga, ii. 110.

[2] *Journ. Ind. Arch.*

only formidable attack ever made by Europeans on the Spanish Philippines. Accounts had been circulated that Manilla was a store of wealth. Millions of dollars sent annually from America, splendid prizes won by Cavendish and Anson — these ideas dazzled and seduced the minds of the English into an expedition which disappointed its projectors. On the 4th of January, 1762, while Europe was still trembling after the earthquake of a general war, and England had strewn the sea with shattered fleets, hostilities were declared against Spain, and that old monarchy received another shock which vibrated through her loosened frame.[1]

A. D. 1762.

Expedition against Manilla.

An expedition, planned and prepared by Sir William Draper, was furnished for the conquest of the Philippines. The East India Company zealously joined in the project, and stipulated for a third of the profits to accrue from its success. The value of the Spanish possessions was indeed diminished, but they were still worth a battle, and rumour added to their opulence enough to inflame the ardour of the adventurers.

Arrives in the Bay.

On the 23d of September, a squadron of nine men-of-war appeared in the magnificent bay that extends its horns from side to side of Manilla. 2300 men from the European and native Indian army were on board, besides 550 sailors, and 270 marines. The Spaniards, who had, by their own account 550, by the English 800, were soon joined by 5000 or 10,000 (the accounts vary) of the Philippine Indians armed with bows, arrows, and spears. The preparations for defence had been hurried, and there was manifestly no force important enough to render the victory doubtful.

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[1] Heeren, *Historical Researches*. There are few lessons in history like that supplied by the annals of Spain. See, for a brilliant passage on the breadth of her old dominion in both hemispheres, Macaulay, *Essays*, 233.

Landing of the forces.

The British troops, still plumed with the pride of great triumphs in the Carnatic, landed at mid-day, struggling through the foaming surf[1], with their arms and ammunition carried above their heads. The fire of three frigates covered their disembarkation. Far spent as the season was, and unfavourable for warlike manœuvres, the British vigorously commenced operations, and Manilla was summoned to capitulate. In reply, was received a bold defiance from the governor, and shortly afterwards a body of troops sallied, but was repulsed with much loss. Works were raised around the town, and completed notwithstanding several gallant sallies of the besieged. Within twelve days all was ready for an assault. Walls and bastions, a covered way, and a wet ditch, formed the defences. The point of attack was chosen at the San Diego bastion. A battery of small shells was opened upon it, while the ships of war in the bay rolled in their broadsides in conjunction with the artillery on shore.

Challenge from the city.

Manilla bombarded.

Stormy weather, however, put the squadron more than once in great peril. A vessel with stores was driven on the beach; but while she lay stranded, her guns continued to sweep the line of the bay, driving back the swarms of Indians who came down from the city or the neighbouring woods. Pieces of heavier ordnance and larger mortars were mounted in succession, and on the third of October they opened fire on San Diego, compelling the cannoniers to leave their posts. In the same night, another battery was finished, and poured in a continual storm of bombs and shot, so that speedily the walls were dismantled.

Conduct of the siege.

When the Spaniards saw their defences failing, they gathered courage and sallied, with 5000 Indians, divided into three columns. One, moving by night under the secresy of thick bushes along the edge of a little rivulet, attacked the seamen who were encamped on the beach. A body of men, however, came to the rescue, and as the Indian forces advanced, the guns made bloody chasms in their ranks. Still, they pressed to the cannon's mouth to shower in their arrows and lances; but the seamen, with Roman discipline, held their ground, and drove the assailants back. By a similar attack, the sipahis were expelled from a church which they had occupied, though on rallying they regained the position. At length, the sortying party was forced to shelter itself within the town.[1]

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[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 51.

General assault.

Meanwhile, the batteries never slackened their fire. Within twelve days all was ready for the assault. On the 6th, a breach was open to the valour of the forlorn hope. The English advanced under a general fire of guns and mortars from their own batteries and those of the enemy. The walls were stormed. The town was entered. The governor and archbishop of the Philippines, Don Emanuel Roxo, fell back upon his citadel, but soon after delivered himself up to the English, and by a written capitulation ceded the whole of the Philippines for ever to Great Britain. The lives, the properties, and the liberties of the people were guaranteed on the payment of 4,000,000 of Spanish dollars; but a three hours' pillage of Manilla was exacted to reward the troops.[2] Some accounts say the sack was protracted during a day and a night; others declare even forty.[3] English guards protected the nunneries. The Indians, in many cases, discovered their master's riches to share in the plunder of them. Three hundred men, the

Surrender of the Philippines.

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[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 52.

[2] Crawfurd, ii. 477.

[3] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 53.

garrison of one suburban fort, refused to surrender, shouldered their arms, and marched into the interior.[1]

The Manilla ransom.

The 4,000,000 of dollars was a contribution too heavy to be wrung from such a city as Manilla, and, though some of the church plate was melted down, the archbishop's silver goods and jewels thrown into the balance, and all the money that could be collected added, little more than half a million was amassed. The cargoes which were annually exported were demanded, but not obtained. 111,000 dollars, which had been placed in safety near Lake Bay, were ordered to be given up; but its guardians, the Franciscan friars, loth to lose the custody of money, sent it over the mountains to a secure place in the wild province of Ituy. There was still, therefore, a heavy account against the captured city. To liquidate it, Don Emanuel Roxo signed bills on the imperial treasury at Madrid, which were protested and never paid, though the captors declared it a breach of faith.[2]

Last defenders of Luzon.

In November, the Philippines were formally ceded to the British, and General Draper proclaimed that every Indian who acknowledged allegiance to the conquerors should be free from taxation. Nevertheless, the Spanish commandant refused to recognise the capitulation, and, collecting the religious orders, retreated to the interior, and there set up his standard with great success. All the Chinese joined the English, and committed many excesses after their example. Senor Anda, the chivalrous commandant, immediately ordered every man of that race in the group to be hanged, and the gallows had thousands of victims. Some were spared, and accidentally, but the military governor readily overlooked the omission.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1763, 13.

[2] All will remember the remarks of Junius on the Manilla ransom, Feb. 7. 1769, and the reply, Feb. 17th, 1769.

Insurrection in favour of the English.

Large numbers of the natives now rose and declared themselves friends of the English. All things appeared to promise the success of the new power. Arrangements for the government of the Philippines were speedily made. Archbishop Roxo, who had possibly colluded with the invaders, consented to retain his civil and political office, while a British commandant exercised military rule—a course which brought on him the reproaches of his countrymen. He prayed Senor Anda to make peace, and, continuing friendly to the British, died in January 1764. On his death-bed he bitterly repented the unpatriotic course he had pursued, and wrote home to Spain, saying it had been better had he rushed to the breach made by English cannon, to die by the stroke of an English sword.[2] All the high funeral honours paid to his ashes by the conquerors, whose cause he had embraced, failed to invest his memory with lustre. Anda, meanwhile, faithful to the Spanish flag, was vigorous in his operations, and vowed to obey no orders but those he had received before the fall of Manilla, and that by every means in his power he should uphold in the islands the authority of Spain. Neither force nor diplomacy could break his purpose. He continued in the field until the evacuation of the group.

Archbishop Roxo.

A. D. 1764.

The English, though not yet inspired by their rising fortunes in the East with the ambition of extended empire, were employing their arms with great vigour on the continent, where a magnificent theatre had opened to their enterprise. Among the islands their energy was less powerfully displayed. The sultan of Sulu was taken under their protection, and ceded to them the island of Balambangan. Their settlements on the western shores of Sumatra were re-established, and preparations were made to defend them with equal spirit, when the peace of Paris, confirming the English possessions, put an end to all warlike operations. The settlement of Bencoolen, or Fort Marlborough, was declared an independent presidency. By this treaty their precarious and doubtful conquests in the Philippines were once more delivered over to the Spaniards.

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[1] Zuniga, xvi.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 57.

A. D. 1763.

Restoration of the Philippines.

A. D. 1764.

On the 31st of March 1764, Senor Anda took possession of Manilla, whose capture and occupation had cost a thousand lives. Within one year the revolt among the Indians was quelled. The rebellious races, it is said, lost 10,000 men.[1]

A. D. 1765.

The character of these proceedings was not in any high degree honourable to the British name. Neither by the success of our arms, the wisdom of our policy, nor the conduct of our operations, had we acquired any honours to crown the triumphs which had lately made our standard supreme on the Coromandel coast, and on the lower borders of the Ganges.

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[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 59.

CHAPTER II.

Balambangan. A. D. 1774.

In 1774 the English, directed by that able navigator, Alexander Dalrymple[1], planted a settlement at Balambangan, ceded to them for that purpose. It lies off the northern extremity of Borneo, is fifteen miles in length and three wide, but is now uninhabited. With two excellent harbours, however, abundance of fish on the coast, good water, and an admirable situation for trade, it promised to be a valuable entrepôt for the commerce of those seas; but sufficient precautions were not taken for its defence, and next year the Sulu pirates drove all the settlers from the island.[2]

The Spaniards laid a claim on this island, and disputed the right of the English to establish themselves there. But their objections were proved flimsy and untenable; equally flimsy and untenable, indeed, with those of the Dutch, when every year they deliver a penful of protests against the British occupation of Labuan, pleading that article in the treaty which engages us to make no settlement in the Malacca waters to the south of the Carimon Isles. Balambangan was, perhaps, not the most favourable spot that could have been selected; but its advantages are great, though the harbours require care to approach. In the same sea, however, are other islands which might be easily obtained, and where settlements could be founded most valuable to the commerce of this country.

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[1] Dalrymple, *Account of the Establishment at Balambangan.*

[2] Belcher, i. 34., ii. 116.

The period of great acquisitions had now passed in the Archipelago. The progress of the European powers was thenceforward more cautious. When war, indeed, broke out once more between England and Holland, the former, in 1781, by a single blow wrested from her enemy all the settlements on the western coast of Sumatra; but few new conquests were effected. In Celebes, the sixteen years rebellion of Sankilang had broken out, and the Dutch were engaged with all their vigour in resisting the forces which rose against them. In this conflict was displayed a ferocity which it has been the fashion of civilisation to attribute only to the savage. We find in the secret journal kept by one of the governors of Macassar, various entries, such as the following: —

A. D. 1781.
Rebellion in Celebes.

"Thursday, January 29th, 1777.

Dutch warfare.

"In the morning the Boni Interpreter came to the castle accompanied by a messenger from Datu Boringang, who presented to his Excellency, in a basket, four enemies' heads, said to be the head of Kraing Bonsala and of three Zalanigs, — a rajah and three lesser chiefs."

"*Friday*, 30*th*. — Five heads more were brought to his Excellency this morning, reported to be those of some chiefs of the enemy taken prisoners in the action at Tikeri yesterday, when they were defeated and pursued, with the loss of fifteen men, by Arung Panchano."[1]

These wars in Celebes, in which the Dutch fought on the same level with their savage allies, were extremely characteristic of the social state then, and still with little modification, prevailing in the Archipelago. The heads of the fallen were carried away on spear-tops; the battle-field was defiled by hideous acts of ferocity; and the hearts of the dead were sometimes devoured at a feast in celebration of victory. A traveller spoke to one chief who had eaten this horrid meal, and he declared it was much the same as eating the bowels of a goat or buffalo.[1]

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[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 244.

A. D. 1778. Dutch acquisitions in Borneo.

In Borneo influence was acquired by peaceful negotiation. In 1778 they obtained from the sultan the cession of Succadana; establishing also in that year a fort and factory at the prosperous Malay settlement of Pontianah. By a treaty signed in March, the sultan of Bantam, long dependent as he had been on the Dutch, resigned to them the whole of his possessions on the northern coast of Borneo. Acquired by a doubtful means, held on an equivocal title, and retained by an uncertain tenure as they were, their loss to him was of no moment, while to Holland their acquisition was of importance. A resident was at once sent to Pontianah, where the tributary chief confirmed the prerogative of the company, and was acknowledged with his children as hereditary ruler *in fief* over his aboriginal subjects, though Holland reserved the absolute privilege of power over all Javans, Chinese, Malays, or others who settled in the country. The territorial rights of the Dutch in Borneo have never, however, been strictly defined, for the imaginary lines which have been laid down on the map represent no real dominion. While, however, they claimed extensive tracts, and endeavoured to become paramount in the remoter seas of the East, the English were content from time to time to secure an entrepôt for their increasing trade.

English conquest.

The extension of British empire in India, the consolidation of their power on the plains of Bengal and the Carnatic, and along the whole line of the Coromandel coast, had occupied their attention, and withdrawn it from regions further east. When these suc-

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[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*

A. D. 1783.

An emporium in the Archipelago desired.

cesses, however, had been reaped, and other powers threatened entirely to close the gates of the Archipelago, the supreme government of British India sought a convenient position for establishing a port to shelter their trade in those seas. Holland, in 1783, equipped an expedition against Rhio. It was, indeed, defeated with the loss of a large frigate and five hundred men, but a second attempt was successful. To secure, therefore, a permanent emporium in the direct highway of commerce between the Bay of Bengal and the China Ocean, was a matter of anxious desire.

Foundation of Pinang.

Captain Scott, a merchant engaged in the trade of the further East, pointed out Junk Ceylon, or Salomy; but this was a dependency of Siam. Captain Light, a gentleman following a similar profession, had frequently, however, mentioned to the rajah of Keddah or Quedah, on the peninsula, the desire of the British to gain a port in the straits. That chief protested that he was altogether independent of Siam, and Captain Light was convinced by his assertions. He wrote to the governor-general, prayed for a treaty, styled the emperor of Siam his enemy, and pushed on negotiations to cede Pinang, that he might secure the alliance of the new power which was now displaying its trophies on the continent of India.[1]

Policy of the transaction.

Keddah is, however, considered by some to have been tributary to Siam, and any alienation of its territory without reference to the supreme power would in that case have been invalid. Ignorance of this fact, it is said, was, but need not have been, the reason why the British Government listened to the rajah's overtures. The native history and authorities were extant, which alluded to the fact[1]; but an able defence of the Keddah king's right to cede Pinang, as well as to claim assistance from Great Britain against Siam, appears to have proved the contrary.[2] However, Pinang was ceded, and Captain Light took possession of it, on the 17th of July 1786, in the name of Great Britain, and for the Honourable East India Company.[3]

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[1] Lieut.-Col. James Law, *Origin and Progress of British Settlements, J. I. A.*

Pinang. **Situation.** Pinang, called also Prince of Wales' Island, lies off the west coast of the Malay peninsula, opposite Keddah. **Extent.** It is upwards of fifteen miles long, between eight and twelve broad, with an area of about a hundred and sixty square miles[4], of which a large portion has proved fit for cultivation.[5] In shape it is an irregular quadrangle. **Surface.** All the northern part is mountainous; at the east lies a level tract nearly three miles wide, known as the Valley; while through the centre run jungly hills. Considerable woods cover the slopes and plains, except where husbandry is spreading and obliterating the primal traces of nature. **Vegetation.** A belt of cocoa-trees fringes the shore, and groves of the tall and graceful areca or Pinang palm are scattered over the island. Some rivulets of fine sweet water descend from the hills, fertilising the alluvial tracts below.[6] The destruction of forest and jungle, however, operates unfavourably by diminishing the moisture of the air, and actually affecting the climate.[7] Pepper and spice plantations have in several localities taken the place of the cane thickets, but every where the vegetation, natural or cultivated, wraps the island from the brim of the sea to the summits of the highest hills, which, though all of granitic formation, assume different shapes, some peaked like those of New Zealand, some domed like those of the Deccan. For its beauty and its salubrious atmosphere, Pinang is the retreat for invalids throughout the Archipelago.

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[1] *Keddah Annals*, translated by James Low; also quoted by that learned writer the Abbé Choisy, and Loubere, *History of Siam*.

[2] Anderson, quoted by J. R. Logan.

[3] Bedford (*Considerations on the Conquest of Keddah*, unpublished MS.) proves the right of Keddah.

[4] Newbold, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca*.

[5] Balestier, *Agriculture in Straits Settlements*, *J. I. A.*

[6] Newbold, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca*.

[7] *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*.

Climate.

Timber.

Ship-timber, woods of various kinds, caoutchouc, sugar-canes, the tea plant, and numerous valuable fruits, are found in abundance at Pinang.[1] Nutmegs[2], cloves, and pimento have been introduced with much success[3], while pepper, cocoa-nuts, betel-nut, betel-leaf, coffee, rice, cotton, and ginger, thrive to perfection. Tin ore is the only mineral hitherto discovered. All these commodities form the materials of a vigorous trade, which soon sprang up at George Town, on this island, where, at the time of the British occupation, only a few Malay fishermen dwelt in rude huts on the coast. Ancient burial places, however, indicated a former population which had utterly decayed.[4] The British government at once offered rewards and inducements to industry, and a change speedily came over the face of this small but picturesque island.[5] The possession of this, the key to the north-western entrance of the Archipelago, was not, however, quite peaceful. When the rajah of Keddah discovered that his claims to assistance of the English were, though just, denied, he made an aggression on the allies he had himself sought,

Products.

Antiquities.

English policy.

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[1] Newbold, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca.*

[2] *Journ. Ind. Arch.* v. 583.

[3] Oxley, *Culture of the Nutmeg.*

[4] Newbold, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca.*

[5] Low, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca.*

and forced from Captain Light a compromise of money. A new complication arose, and this time was decided by arms. The English were unsuccessful, but at length agreed to pay the rajah an annual sum, in order to discharge their obligation to him.[1]

A. D. 1791.

While the British were forming their modest settlement on the north-western borders of the Archipelago, the fitful ambition of the Dutch urged them to make new acquisitions, to open new wars, and engage in arbitration between native states, which usually left every contested prize to the umpire. Tasmid, the eldest son and successor of their old ally, ascended the throne of Banjarmassin, and excited discontent among many of his subjects. Three thousand men rose in arms, and were put down by the Dutch. The sultan was not so grateful as they considered he should have been. Therefore, when his younger brother Makta revolted with a numerous band of nobles in his train, Holland espoused the cause of the insurgent, and dethroned the reigning prince. The successful pretender, in an excess of gratitude, relinquished his entire kingdom, and retired, content with the title of hereditary governor *in fief* of all the territory, with the exception of three districts.

The Dutch in Borneo.

Four years later, when the war beyond the line broke out, the Dutch power received a formidable shock. Malacca surrendered to a British force; Perak on the same peninsula was ceded; and while the power of Holland from that day visibly declined, the star of her rival in the East mounted rapidly above the political horizon.

Capture of Malacca.

The Netherlands East India Company had now dissolved. It had performed its mission. It had opened

Dissolution of the Netherlands

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[1] Low, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca, J. I. A.*

East India Company.

up for Holland the most lucrative trade she possessed. It had made her the envy of great European nations. Liberal directors might have built on that foundation a magnificent structure of dominion, and accumulated in the stores of Amsterdam perennial harvests of wealth from the Indian Islands. The improvidence of monopoly determined all things to a different end. Regions proverbial for their natural opulence became impoverished deserts, and civilisation, in many places, retrograded under the institutions of an European race.[1]

Desolation of Java,

Cities once flourishing fell to ruin; the jungle, driven back by barbarians to the upper slopes of hills, spread again over the plains; and, measured by the just standard, that of the people's happiness, Dutch rule was in more than one part of the Archipelago, pregnant with a curse.[2]

and of the Spice Isles.

In the Spice Islands, depopulation followed their establishment, and savages sought in caves and woods refuge from the remorseless hand of civilisation.[3] Philosophy may seek to trace these effects to a natural cause, inevitable in the contact of strange races; but the whole is explained by a simple truism, that when the passion of selfishness is supreme in the councils of a government, its progress can only be a career of desolation.

Disasters of the Dutch.

At this period fortune turned upon the Dutch, and their empire in the East threatened to break up under a general stroke of ruin. Their enemies in all parts of the Archipelago gained ground; one rebel rose up after another; British squadrons anchored before Malacca and captured it; and one by one every possession of Holland was agitated by dangerous commotions.

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[1] Sir James Brooke, *Journal.* Keppel, *Voyage of the Dido.*

[2] Stamford Raffles, *History of Java.*

[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.* Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipelagique.*

English in Pinang.

The colonising policy of the English in the Straits of Malacca was of a curious nature. Pinang was a favourite settlement; but its prosperity did not for a considerable period answer their desires, although the revenue was fair and the trade very lively.[1] Malacca, on the other hand, which they neglected to support, supported itself on its own name and the remnants of an industrious population composed of various races. Prejudice, custom, predilection, the neighbourhood of pepper, vegetable and fruit plantations, with fisheries on the coast, retained at Malacca a busy concourse of people; while the inhabitants of Pinang, composed of adventurers ready to shift their place of settlement and follow any new prospect which seemed to open, were bound by no ties to their adopted soil. Yet the British government, to foster this settlement, ordered the fortifications of Malacca to be levelled and other measures to be employed to induce the residents to embark for the rising colony. To this Mr. Raffles, who had already distinguished himself by his ability and judgment, offered strong opposition. Captain Farquhar joined in this resistance, and contributed largely to the recal of the obnoxious orders. The oldest European settlement in the Archipelago was retained, and Pinang suffered to develope itself according to the course of nature.

Plan to abandon Malacca.

It was now felt throughout England and British India — at least among those classes which devoted any notice to the political transactions of the East — that a more vigorous policy was necessary to be pursued in the Indian Archipelago. While more important measures were in preparation, inferior transactions were completed; and, while the Dutch in the islands, under

Change of British policy.

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[1] Low, *Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, J. I. A.*

Marshal Daendels, lost territory, reputation, and revenue, compromising a quarrel for 200 dollars, selling one of their settlements for 50,00C, abdicating their influence in various places, and abandoning many of the advantages they had acquired, the English settled at Banjarmassin by the request of its sultan, and occupied the portion their old rivals had evacuated. In this manner a decade passed unmarked by any important events.

A. D. 1810. Fall of Holland.

Holland had, for a while, performed the last act of her ambition. Fallen from her place in Europe, she was unable to preserve that noble resolution to be free which had formerly cast a lustre round her name. Less than a century and a half before, she had threatened to fly, with all her people and her moveable wealth, to the farthest isles of Asia, and there erect the capital of a new republic amid the waters of the remote East; but the spirit of that chivalry had passed away. Degenerated and enfeebled, she sank under the dangers which, at a former time, would have roused the martial virtue of her people. The vain and profligate Louis Quatorze had failed in the attempt to add those provinces, rescued from the sea, to his wide but miserable empire. But Napoleon possessed at least the quality of vigour, and the territorial alliance of France and Holland placed the Dutch possessions in the East entirely at his command. He beheld in Java a favourable point for concentrating his forces, to carry on the design he had formed against the British Indian Empire.

Her struggles.

Napoleon's conquests.

French cruizers in the East.

Throughout the war French cruizers from Bourbon and the Mauritius had infested the Indian coast, capturing merchantmen trading between the eastern ports. Several richly laden Indiamen fell into their hands, though the Company's ships, well armed, were often enabled to contend successfully with the privateers.

Great damage, however, was done to the British trade. After a successful expedition in the Molucca sea, another was organised against Java, which on the 16th of May 1811, had been taken possession of, in Napoleon's name, by Commander Jannsenns.

English plan to conquer Java. A. D. 1811.

The expedition. Sir Stamford Raffles.

The plan of the expedition was chiefly framed according to the advice of Stamford Raffles.[1] During his settlement in the Archipelago, he had drawn from all open sources information of every profitable kind; he had felt the pulse of the native races; had inquired into their political and military capabilities, the tendency of their inclinations, the tone of their ideas, and was, in a comparative degree, familiar with the civilisation of the Archipelago. Placing confidence in such a man, Lord Minto, writing from Calcutta in February, arranged a meeting with him and Sir Samuel Achmutty at Malacca, where a plan of operation might be drawn out. The conference took place, and the expedition was vigorously prepared.

The British armament.

The Straits of Malacca were now once more covered with the sails of an enormous fleet. It was not now, however, composed of barbarian prahus rudely built, rudely armed, and still more rudely manned; but of more than ninety British ships, furnished forth with all the resources of civilised war. This magnificent armament was ready in June, when a difficulty arose which appeared serious. So large an armada had never before traversed the Archipelago; and long as these waters had been familiar to the fleets of Europe, it appeared dangerous to steer such a crowd of ships in regions where the channels are in many parts so narrow that only one vessel at a time can pass, and that sometimes with both bulwarks overshadowed by the foliage which in those verdant islands often droops over the very brink of the sea. Raffles boldly indicated a route to be followed; the naval authorities generally opposed him; but Lord Minto deferred to his opinion, and within six weeks after quitting Malacca the whole armament had safely arrived within view of Batavia.[1] The city burghers, on the sight, applied for protection and surrendered without a blow. Their garrison had retreated to Welterwieden, at some little distance from the town.

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, by Lady Raffles, i. 111.

Arrives off Java.

Commencement of the campaign.

The campaign was immediately opened with the utmost energy. Driven from his first position, the enemy entrenched himself at Cornelis, about three miles from Batavia. This retreat was strong, and, combined with superior numbers, threatened a formidable resistance to the forces of the English. It was between the river of Jakatra and the Sloken, an artificial watercourse. A deep trench, strongly palisaded, shut up the approaches. Seven redoubts, with numerous batteries of heavy cannon, defended the lines. In the centre rose the frowning walls of Fort Cornelis. Field and forest spread around. The hot season and the smallness of the invading army forbade the idea of carrying the position by regular approaches; but Sir Samuel Achmutty knew the troops he commanded, and resolved to win the place by assault.[2] He at once opened a hot fire on the batteries, which continued until the night of the 26th, when many of the enemies' guns were silent. Then all was prepared for the attack. Colonel Gibbs, Major Yule, Major-General Wetherell, Colonel Wood, Lieutenant-General Macleod, Captain Sayer, and Captain Noble, were among the principal in command. They led the assault in that manner which has achieved for the British army laurels in every field it has contested. The troops courageously advanced; discharges of cannon broke out on every side. The infantry moved forward under this fiery storm, and carried the lines by a sudden burst of valour. Tremendous volleys met them as they scaled the defences, but in the face of death they pushed on towards the centre of the entrenched camp. Wherever a practicable opening was made, cavalry poured in to support the battalions of foot, while the horse-artillery, carried forward with distinguished gallantry, swept in every direction the well-defended field.[1]

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[1] James, *Naval History*, vi. 27.

[2] Achmutty, *Despatches*, *Ann. Reg.* 1812, 226.

The victory was rapid and complete. It reflected honour on all who aided in procuring it, for the enemy was superior in numbers, infinitely superior in position, well prepared, and brave as the French and Dutch invariably are in battle. The loss on the English side was considerable; but the Hollanders suffered fearfully in the rout. Many fell in the entrenchments; crowds in the confusion of the storm were driven into the river and drowned. Five thousand prisoners were taken. All the country round Batavia was immediately in the hands of the English.

Surrender of the Dutch possessions.

General Jannsenns, with a body of cavalry, made his escape, followed by the wreck of his army. Driven from post to post, he was at length shut up at Serindeh, towards the east of the island, within seven miles of Samarang. There a last struggle took place, ou the 16th of September. In two days more the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago, in virtue of a treaty signed by W. Jannsenns and Sir Samuel Achmutty, were surrendered to Great Britain. Java, for three hundred years the stronghold of Holland in the

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 125.

Eastern Ocean, with all the inferior acquisitions of that power, were now English territory.[1] Our merchantman, sailing among the remoter waters of the globe, might securely enter any European port, for no flag but that of Great Britain floated on any spot between Cape Horn and Cape Comorin, — between Bengal and the Yellow Sea.[2]

Factory at Banjar.

While Java was being conquered, a factory was peacefully established at Banjar, in consequence of a mission sent to Malacca in the previous year.

Dutch policy in Java.

In Java, our countrymen discovered a curious feature illustrating the weakness of the government which had recently been overthrown. Daendels, in the possessions he consented to retain, pursued a singular course of policy. To re-introduce the culture of coffee, which under a restrictive system fell to decay, to intersect Bantam with roads, to open the sea-approaches by a new harbour; — these appeared to him necessary enterprises. But to perform the task with a vigour equal to his wishes, he was compelled to burden the people with fresh taxes, and call so many to the public works, that a rebellion broke out, which gathered under the banners of a pangeran Achmet, whose insurrection grew too formidable to suppress. He was left, therefore, unmolested, in the interim, to carry on a series of devastating forays. While the British fleet swung at anchor in the roads, this rebel supplied them with provisions, and when the army landed he was found in possession of a whole province.

Lord Minto's proclamation.

On the 11th of September, five days after the conquest, Lord Minto issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Java, assuring them of the kind purpose of the English, asking them to pass in friendship under the new sway, guaranteeing them the rights of British Indian subjects, with freedom of trade similar to that enjoyed by all British subjects east of the Cape of Good Hope. It promised the Dutch residents fair treatment, and welcome to whatever offices of trust they were qualified to fill. It notified a project for the complete revision of the monopolising system, and warranted to the people the protection of the Netherlands laws, subject to alterations then proclaimed. These were, the abolishing of torture and mutilation, in the punishment of criminals; mitigation of all penalties more severe than those laid down in the British penal code; and security of life until sentence of death was reported to and approved by the lieutenant-governor. All persons in the island, of whatever nationality, were to obey the same law, and the lieutenant-governor was empowered to revise the system of administration subject to the control of the Supreme British Indian Government. The tone of the proclamation was liberal and conciliatory, containing no insult to the fallen power or threat to the new subjects.[1]

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[1] Alison, *History of Europe*, xiv. 110.

[2] Mill, *History of British India*.

Raffles appointed Governor.

The administration of the island, though partly pledged to another, was at once conferred by Lord Minto on Thomas Stamford Raffles, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. He had contributed chiefly to the success of the British arms, and to him alone the honour and the trust were due. Nor could any man have then been chosen better fitted to assume the charge of Java.

It may be permitted the historian here to diverge a moment from the direct track of his narrative, to recall the youth of a man who now enters prominently on the

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 142.

Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir James Brooke. Their characters.

scene. The name of Raffles is indissolubly associated with that, as the name of Brooke is with a later, period in the history of the Indian Archipelago. There are points of resemblance between the men. Their wide, liberal views, their philanthropic spirit, their hatred of the system which wrung profit from the misery of the natives, their endeavours to suppress piracy, their exalted ideas of the mission which civilisation has, surely, to accomplish in those distant regions of the East; in these particulars there is a link between Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir James Brooke, whose memories will be bequeathed together with honour to the latest posterity.

Youth of Raffles.

Raffles was born at sea, near Jamaica, on the 5th of July, 1781. From his infancy he was accustomed to an adventurer's life. His father, Benjamin Raffles, was one of the oldest captains, in the trade of those seas, out of the port of London. Placed at an early age at a school in Hammersmith, he quickly developed the characteristics of thoughtfulness and close application which were among his distinctions; and though his education was not complete or fine, he acquired much knowledge during the brief opportunity he enjoyed. At fourteen he was placed as an extra clerk in the East India House. Thus drawn from the form and scholar's desk, he did not abandon learning. His leisure hours were never idle. Principles of a strong, elevated character, directed his conduct. He was conscious of the talents which graced him. He appreciated himself with an honest candour, but still with modesty.

His career.

Those abilities were speedily acknowledged by the Indian government; and when, in 1805, the Court of Directors resolved on consolidating the establishment at Pinang, Raffles was named assistant secretary. Towards the close of that year, he arrived in the Indian

Archipelago. His capacity and application, his tact and judgment, attracted notice. He rose through various grades of office, and at all times was eager in the collection of knowledge with respect to the region which fortune had opened as the field of his exertions. He mingled at Pinang with the crowds of temporary or permanent settlers from various countries of the further East — from Java and the Moluccas, from Celebes and Borneo, from Papua, Cochin China, and the Celestial Empire. With these he conversed, discovering their habits of thought, the tone of their sympathies, and their commercial tastes, thus acquiring that acquaintance with them by which alone an European can open the way which leads to the respect, the confidence, or the love of a barbarian race. Raffles had a purpose in view, and, bringing to his aid the kindliest qualities of the human heart, as well as a vigorous intellectual mind, his success was in most instances more than answerable to his hopes, if short of his desires.

His success.

The task allotted to him was arduous and responsible. Six millions of men, divided into thirty residencies, with powerful chiefs chafing under European rule, fell under his charge. An extensive island, the most fertile and beautiful in the world, was to be reclaimed from desolation. Its population was to be conciliated to friendship with governors of the white race they had learned to fear, if not to hate. Before the conquest by the English, the Dutch had only actually subjugated one of the four principal kingdoms. The inferior kingdom of Jakatra, extending from Bantam to Cheribon, and containing Batavia, alone acknowledged with implicit obedience the name of Holland. The Dutch, indeed, had been long lords paramount of Java; but their sword was never in its sheath, and when new

His present task.

State of Java.

rulers arrived it remained for them to prove their conquest by the same weapons. Lord Minto remained in Java six weeks, arranging places of government, and for the suppression of piracy. The proposal was made to him to plunder and abandon Java, but it was rejected, and the island received as a province of the British Indian empire.[1] He left Raffles abundant opportunities to exercise the courage and judgment which were his distinguishing characteristics.

Taking advantage of the overthrow of the French and Dutch dominion, the ex-sultan of Java seized the throne which had been wrested from him, and put his vizier and his vizier's father to death for opposing his will. His turbulent spirit displaying itself in a threatening form, Raffles resolved to visit his capital and conclude a settlement of the relations to exist between the British government and this barbarian prince, who had long since yielded his independence to Holland.

The native prince.

A convention was at length agreed upon. The sultan acknowledged the English supreme in Java, recognised their succession to the rights of the Dutch, ceded them the regulation of duties and the collection of tribute in his territories, with the administration of justice in all cases where British interests were concerned, and, pledging himself to the fulfilment of these engagements, expressed deep regret for all that had passed. Nevertheless, he sought to expel our countrymen from the island, and it was found necessary to send an expedition to reduce him to reason.

Success of Raffles.

The conduct of Stamford Raffles, in this and in other measures, was almost universally approved. General Gillespie, indeed, impeached it, and put him to a severe trial, but, though his motives were undoubtedly pure, his charges could not be sustained, and the widow of Raffles, in chronicling these transactions, expresses her belief that if this gallant soldier had not met an early and honourable death, he would himself have borne a generous testimony to the man with whom he had formerly co-operated, but whose policy he conscientiously blamed. Other opponents, indeed, stood up occasionally to charge ill to the account of Raffles — some openly accusing him, others throwing arrows in the dark; but he was able to convince his honest, and to confound his malignant antagonists.[1]

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[1] Raffles, *Life and Memoirs*, by Lady Raffles.

Relations with the island princes.

The native chiefs of Java, by the establishment of British power, gained considerable advantages. In political, commercial, and territorial arrangements, terms more liberal than those offered by the Dutch were granted to them. Palembang, in Sumatra, was selected as the object of peculiar liberality. Its dependency, the island of Banca, long famous for mines of tin, would alone have rendered it worth attention. Raffles sent to its sultan a mission, requiring the acknowledgment of the new authority, and the settlement of future relations.[2] That prince, however, had fallen into a dream of independence, and welcomed the commissioners with most equivocal courtesy. He refused intercourse with the English, despised their offers, and compelled the envoys to sign fictitious reports, in which it was stated that the Dutch fort had been razed to the ground, and the garrison, at their request, marched to Batavia. At first, indeed, he had assumed a tone of truculent insolence, defying all the earth to conquer him; but the battle of Cornelis fell on his ears like a clap of thunder, and he sought to escape through a labyrinth of truly

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[1] See Raffles, Proclamation, Oct. 15th, 1813. *Memoirs*, i. 240.

[2] See Temminck, ii. 13.

Oriental lies. To conceal all evidence which might rise against him, he ordered the Dutch residents to be murdered, while the agents of Raffles were summoned to receive the same fate.

Palembang.

The maltreatment of these men, the plunder and murder of Europeans, who, by the fortune of war, had fallen under British protection, and the insulting reply despatched to the lieutenant-governor, justified no other than a severe policy. Nor was the importance of the event, to the interests of commerce, of any mean consideration. The closing of Palembang would have shut up the harbour of Klabbout in Banca, one of the most spacious and commodious havens in the East. Two rocky promontories embrace a magnificent basin of deep water, and through a narrow gateway, easily defended, the whole navy of Great Britain might pass and safely lie within. It was not at that period contemplated to withdraw altogether from Java, and such a port, in the direct route to China, would have been of great value. Banca was fixed upon for a new settlement. On board the fleet equipped for Palembang, guns and stores for the island were embarked, and the expedition set sail. The passage from Batavia, which, with fair weather, could be accomplished in four or five days, occupied, on account of contrary winds and currents, a much longer period. These delays afforded the sultan leisure to prepare for defence or flight. He provided for both. He removed his treasures and his women into the interior. He blockaded the approaches to his capital. He issued letter after letter to the British commander, couched in the language of accomplished hypocrisy.

Expedition to it.
A. D. 1812.

Nevertheless, the fleet made for the river, entered it, and pushed up in spite of desultory attacks. On the 22d of April, the rising sun revealed the batteries and armed flotillas of the enemy, at a formidable position near Borang. The passage was obstructed by all the devices of savage stratagem. Pile, boom, and fire raft were employed, but as the assailants advanced, the defendants fled or capitulated, and yielded up their works. The whole country woke into alarm. Borang was passed. The sultan knew his great hope was broken. He escaped and gave Palembang up to ruin. His adherents rushed, before their flight, to strike a blow for fortune. They fell on the opulent Chinese residents, commenced an unsparing massacre, pillaged the dwellings, and set fire to all they could not bear away. The city was converted into a field of battle. Men fought with mortal hatred; life and death hung in the balance of every personal conflict; all bad passions were let loose. Carnage, plunder, and riot mingled their horrors, and while they, who should have been preparing to defend the town, anticipated its sack by the conqueror, the English boats were pushing rapidly up the stream. News came of the fearful events going forward, and all possible haste was made, if possible, to stay the havoc.

Night attack.

Colonel Gillespie[1], with a small band of followers, stimulated by the excitement of the hour, imprudently advanced too far, and reached the entrance of the city, which lay dimly visible in the gloom on either side of the river. On all hands the forest enclosed it, shutting in the landscape with its sombre outlines. The sky was dark; the houses were scattered densely along the shores, and from these masses of human habitations rose at intervals a body of flames, rushing from street to street, roaring in the wind and throwing a red glare around, while the yells of the murderers, shrieks of the victims, and mingled sounds of various tones from fury to despair, gave to the scene a terrible reality.

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[1] See a good sketch of Gillespie's life, *U. S. Mag.* cclxxviii. 65

The little band of Europeans, guided by an Arab chief, stepped on shore. Crowds of Malays and Muslims thronged about them, flashing over their heads glaring torches, and weapons red with blood. Huge battlements with wide gates rose along the town, permitting no egress. Signs of the recent havoc were abundant. The assassins had been fiercely at their work. Scared, however, by the undaunted appearance of the British officers, with seventeen grenadiers who forced their way in, numbers fled and others remained passive as they passed. Meanwhile, the conflagration spread. The bamboo-built houses burned easily, and the crackling of this inflammable material resembled incessant discharges of musketry. Then, to increase the terror and confusion, a violent storm, with thunder and lightning, broke out, and thus in the midst of this uproar, a little body of Englishmen took possession of Palembang, though overshadowed by a fort and batteries, bristling with 252 pieces of cannon.[1] Not one man was lost. A daring though rash stroke accomplished all. A regular siege would have probably cost showers of blood.[2]

The royal body-guard of murderers having fled, the sultan was formally deposed, and replaced by a relative. In recognition of the British supremacy he ceded the isles of Banca and Biliton.

War in Java.

In June, the English declared war against the sultan of Java, and on the 20th marched a force of not more than 1000 men against his capital. Retiring to his strongly fortified palace, the old prince considered himself secure with high walls and 8000 of his chosen soldiers to protect him.

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[1] Thornton, 14.

[2] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 171.

Yet this immense Indian castle, crowded with defenders, could not resist the assault of a thousand troops under British command. The garrison cast prodigious volleys of stones from slings, but without sensible effect. Nevertheless, the siege lasted two days. They employed, indeed, other weapons of more formidable nature—among them a lance twelve or fourteen feet in length, with a sharp head of iron. Crawfurd saw a full-grown tiger, ranging at will within a spacious enclosure, pierced to the heart with a similar spear hurled by a Javan hunter.[1] The kriss, said by the natives to have been invented by a prince of the fourteenth century, though universally worn, was seldom employed in the contests with Europeans. Rarely indeed was there a hand-to-hand collision. In this instance, the palace, immediately after the walls were scaled, surrendered. The sultan was made prisoner, and his son, a favourite with the Dutch, was elected to the throne, with the title of Mangkubuwono III. The old Susunan had never actually delivered up the districts ceded by him to Holland, but his successor was bound to the fulfilment of this convention. The territories of Kader Blora, Tipang, Japan, Gurroo, and others were peacefully relinquished.

Acquisitions in Borneo.

Daendel's act of abdication, repudiated by the Dutch, was not acknowledged by the English. The Bornean districts were included within the meaning of the general capitulation. Treaties were signed with the sultan of Banjarmassin and chiefs on the adjoining coast to determine the relations of commerce, and consolidate the influence of Great Britain, now paramount over

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[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 244.

A. D. 1813. Bantam.

the length and breadth of the Archipelago. At the same time, the administration of Bantam was purchased from its nominal sovereign for an annual pension of 10,000 dollars. Its population was not then one-fourth of a million. The city, once surrounded by rich plantations of pepper, once the great resort of Indian merchants, once a famous entrepôt for merchandise, had sunk far from its former prosperity, under the restrictive policy of the Dutch.

Manifesto of Raffles.

When these political arrangements had been effected, Sir Stamford Raffles proceeded to develop his plans for the civil administration of Java. On the 15th of October, 1813, he published at Batavia a comprehensive manifesto. The spirit and purpose of this document may be succinctly stated.

Its spirit.

It proposed to check the undue authority of the native chiefs, but receive them into offices of trust in the department of police, with such rewards in land and money as would render it their interest and their duty to encourage industry and protect the inhabitants. The police regulations were to be framed, a fixed principle consonant with the ancient habits and institutions of the country.

The government lands were to be let to heads of villages, who might sublet them at fair rents, though held responsible for their proper and liberal management. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries would be abolished. The cultivation of coffee would be encouraged, and government would purchase at a fixed rate all for which a higher price could not be found in the market. Many duties were to be abolished, toll-gates and transport dues diminished, every facility offered for procuring teak timber for boat building, salt cheapened, and by a free system every encouragement afforded to industry and trade.

A full and liberal code of revenue instructions was promulgated next year, besides regulations for the distribution of justice.

A. D. 1814.

Sir Stamford Raffles was, perhaps, of all men then living the one most capable of the task to which he applied himself. With a kind solicitude for the welfare of the native population, he was animated by a keen desire to promote the interests of British commerce. He understood the philosophy of colonial government; he comprehended the true interests of the aborigines. He knew that to protect their peaceful industry by suppressing the buccaneering system which preyed upon it was the duty of civilisation. His humanity was of that liberal kind which would warm the whole world in its embrace, yet he never held his hand when peace could be procured by a blow.

Wisdom of Raffles.

In various islands it was necessary to coerce refractory or hostile chiefs. In 1814, a brother of the Rajah Bleling, a Hindoo chief in Bali, insulted the English settlement of Blambangan in Java. A British force, then about to sail for Celebes, was ordered to stop by the way and force an apology. The rajah was wise enough to submit. The expedition then proceeded to Boni, where the king refused to acknowledge the British supremacy. It remained to compel him.

Affairs of Celebes.

The operations were carried on in alliance with some native chiefs. These met in council to swear fealty. The banners of the state were unfurled, sprinkled with blood, and waved above the assembly. Each man in succession, dipping his kriss in water, drank the sacred draught. Then winding through the evolutions of a war dance, he leaped around the blood-spotted standard, whirling his sword and swearing oaths of faith. Skilful flattery of his new friends was woven into this heroic gasconade. "Observe me, you English."

cried one, "I am prepared to live and die with you. I am as a spear in your hands, ready to do execution in whatever quarter directed." A second exclaimed, "I shall be in your hands like a skein of white thread, ready to receive whatever colour the skill of the dyer may give it." Nothing was so remarkable among these warriors as their treachery.[1]

With this combination of forces, the armies of the king of Boni were attacked and defeated, but the prince himself escaped into the interior with a considerable number of troops, and was successful in a series of predatory attacks during the short period of our rule in the Eastern seas.

Feebleness of British policy.

Whether Great Britain was wise in her abdication of the territories won from the Dutch in 1811, is a question which, by the British politician, can be answered only in one way. It is safe to assert that, had these islands remained under the government of the East India Company, the Archipelago would, thirty-seven years later, have worn an aspect wholly different from that which it assumed under the divided sway of Holland and the pirates. The trade of England enlarged, the prosperity of the Archipelago increased, the general welfare of the human race promoted, and Christendom graced with a new dominion,— such would have been the results. But the wisdom of diplomacy decided otherwise.

Fall of Buonaparte.

The fate of the East was decided in the West. An insurrection in Amsterdam, followed by outbursts all over Holland, made her once more a nation. The colossal power of Napoleon Buonaparte, shaken by the three days' battle on the field of Leipsic, was shattered to ruins on the plains of Waterloo. The Netherlands

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[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 234

Revival of Holland.

Treaty of London.

Treaty of Paris.

Restoration of the Dutch possessions.

had regained their independence — though the old republican form of government was rejected by a people which had degenerated from the virtuous patriotism that animated them when they originally shook off the double yoke of priest and prince in Spain.[1] The star of the Corsican despot had been quenched amid the storms of war, and peace dawned amid a general reconstruction of the European system. There was an universal exchange of conquered territories. By the treaty of London, signed on the 13th of August, 1814, the transmarine possessions of Holland were restored to her, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and Collins on the Malabar coast. The peace of Paris in 1815 comprised these arrangements. The brief but bright day of English dominion then closed. Java was once more delivered to the Dutch. Celebes was next evacuated, and the Spice Islands followed, with the inferior acquisitions. During the few years of British administration, so wise and mild a policy had been pursued, that the natives relapsed with reluctance to the power of their old masters.[2]

Close of the war-period.

Thus closed the era of the war, since which the rival nations have worked with diplomacy in place of arms.

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[1] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, ii. 348.

[2] Ibid. ii. 398.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1816. State of Java in A. D. 1816.

WHEN the Dutch, on the 24th of June, 1816, were restored to the possession of Java, that island was flourishing under the liberal system of administrative economy projected by Sir Stamford Raffles. During the short eclipse of their national existence, they had not learned, amid the general confusion of opinions in Europe, any new theories of colonial policy. The ideas received in the days of Koen still influenced their formation of their schemes, and the spirit, if not the whole frame of the English laws was speedily changed. Confessedly, however, they felt the necessity of adopting to some extent the plans of the abdicated government, though many of the more bold and grand were immediately rejected. Trial by jury had been introduced:—it was now abolished. The freedom of agriculture was ratified, with a modification of the land-tax, but the old communal partition was renewed, in lieu of the personal impost. Chiefs and elders of villages received a commutation of money, to compensate them for the loss of their ancient feudal revenues, and the treasury forbore to force payment of arrears, on account of the poll-tax. The necessity for this sacrifice they ascribe to the English, by whom the finances had been so confused that an equitable liquidation was impossible. Whatever was true of the fiscal measures adopted by Raffles, it is certain that Java flourished under them, in more genuine prosperity than she ever enjoyed before or since. It is also just to say, that the Dutch, when their restoration took place, devised several plans in

New administration of the Dutch.

emulation of the British policy, for the encouragement of industry, and especially to stimulate the cultivation of indigo, sugar, and coffee. The liberty of trade, though still restrained by rigid enactments, was slightly extended, and other beneficial regulations were enacted. These indeed were all conceived to promote in politics and commerce the interests of Holland[1]; but it is a characteristic of wise and benevolent rule, when the happiness of the people is increased by laws which provide for the aggrandisement of the governors.

Commercial restrictions.

Jealous, however, of the amity which had sprung up between the English and many of the native princes, they so far restricted the trade of the island, as to shut out the vessels of all other nations from its ports, making this an express stipulation in every new compact framed.[2] For, though great independent kingdoms remained no longer to be subdued, and a change was coming over the general policy of Europe, Holland continued in the Archipelago to extend her power by treaties as well as by arms. Nor was her ancient authority so confirmed in the affections of the native race, as to flourish without the danger of overthrow. The people, far from grovelling in that reptile lethargy in which so many nations throughout Asia are immersed, were not easily reconciled to lose an independence which they had not exchanged for any great civilising influence of industry or peace. In the very year in which Java was restored it was disturbed by insurrectionary outbreaks; though these forerunners of the portentous commotion which afterwards burst forth were with facility appeased. In Borneo and Celebes the relapse to Dutch rule took place in tranquillity, and in Sumatra

New treaties.

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[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 113.

[2] Wilson, *History of India*.

Wars and insurrections.

some of their merchants settled in peace[1], but the Moluccas passing from the hands of the English into those of the governors, who had made them the scene of melancholy devastation, were speedily agitated by a sanguinary war.

A. D. 1817.

The Dutch resident at Saparoa was assassinated; an expedition sailed to quell the insurgent tribes, and conflicts took place in that island as well as in Haroeka and Amboyna, which, after a fierce struggle, were reduced to subjection.[2] The states of Borneo stood to Holland in the same relation as previously, but new settlements were made with some of the native princes. The principal object of these was to increase the culture of pepper, except at Banjarmassin, where the intervention of the Dutch arms more than once took place to defend the natives from the tyranny of their sultan. By them, this sovereign had been elected, and to their support he owed his continued elevation, so that they enjoyed justly the prerogative of arbitrating between him and

A. D. 1818.

the people he oppressed.[3] Their own administration, nevertheless, in some of their Bornean settlements, provoked rebellion, while at Cheribon formidable disturbances took place, as well as at Palembang in Sumatra, where the Dutch became involved in a costly war. A disputed succession, in the determination of which the English had taken a share, divided the state into two hostile parties, and the Dutch, adopting the cause of a favoured claimant, fought in his name for ascendancy at Palembang, but their first expedition was defeated with loss and disgrace.[4] They succeeded, nevertheless, in dethroning the reigning prince, and electing in his place another who had been deposed by the British government.[1] He applied to his old benefactors for assistance, and they feebly attempted to promote his claims, sending a small body of Bengalee troops, but these were captured, and no further movements took place to compromise the general peace of Europe.[2]

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[1] Temminck, ii. 21.

[2] *Moniteur des Indes*, i. 84.

[3] Capellen, *Moniteur*, i. 165.

[4] *Moniteur*, i. (5.) 84.

English in Achin.

Further to the north-east on the same island, the settlement of politics in a native state was effected by European intervention. Johore Allum Shah, who had been thrust from the throne of Achin by Sufful Allum, was restored by the East India Company, and the usurper pensioned. The ancient symbol of the state, a blood-red flag, emblem of enmity and pride, was then modified by the device of a sabre horizontal across a full shield, round, argent on a red field.[3]

Dispute with the Dutch.

In 1818 a dispute arose between the English and the Dutch respecting the possession of Malacca. That ancient city had been in 1785 occupied by the British for the Prince of Orange, but Holland affirmed it was conquered by force of arms. Her own records, indeed, proved the unpopularity of her rule there, which was perpetually endangered by rebellion, but the possession of any spot of ground in the Archipelago, valueless or perilous as it might be, was coveted for empire's sake, and a scheme was proposed that Malacca should be relinquished in favour of Pinang, and if not yielded to the Dutch, at least suffered to relapse into the original wilderness. Colonel Farquhar, however, with Stamford Raffles, who had recently received the title of a knight, prevented the demolition, and the city was spared. In the same year, nevertheless, the Dutch negotiators prevailed, and Malacca once more fell into their hands. The treaty of Vienna, indeed, had made its surrender a stipulation, but judicious politicians in the East foresaw that efforts were necessary to prevent British influence from being altogether extinguished in the further East. Claims were made on Holland for the expenses incurred in holding Malacca, during a long war, for the States of the Netherlands, and a prolonged correspondence arose out of the transaction.[1] The amount demanded was 28,000 Spanish dollars, and when a settlement had been effected, Malacca, with great pomp of flags waving and salutes fired, was delivered over to the Dutch. They tried the experiment of declaring it a free port, which partially succeeded, but the history of the city from that period is one of decline and decay.[2]

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[1] Wilson, *History of India.*

[2] Dr. Epps, *Schilderungen aus Ostindens Archipel.* trans. in *Journal Ind. Arch.*

[3] *Singapore Free Press*, Jan. 26th, 1837.

English treaties in the Peninsula.

Though, however, the English yielded so many of their acquisitions during the war, they retained a sufficient sense of their commercial interests not to abandon the whole field of negotiation and trade. They concluded with the sultan of Perak on the Peninsula, a treaty providing against any Netherlands monopoly, and securing to the British the rights of the most favoured nations.[3] In other directions Sir Stamford Raffles might have created fine markets for the products of our industry, had his designs been appreciated by the imperial government of the day. He required, he said, neither territories nor population. All he wished for was permission to anchor a British line of battle ship with the British flag flying, at the mouth of the Straits of Sunda or Malacca, which would break up the Dutch monopoly, and guarantee liberty for English trade.[4] This was assailed by many insi-

Plans of Raffles.

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[1] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca*, i. 134.

[2] Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 21.

[3] Newbold.

[4] Raffles, *Memoirs.*

dious arts, as when the restrictive system was enforced under pretence of protection to general commerce. Thus, during the expedition to Ceram and Saparoa in 1818, as well as that to the Moluccas in the same year, the Dutch declared themselves to be armed against pirates, and against those who sold military stores to the rebellious tribes, but included in their operations a fierce crusade against contraband traffickers, by which they signified the masters of all vessels not under the Netherlands' flag.[1]

Forbearance of the English.

The British submitted, perhaps with more forbearance than wisdom, to many acts, equivocal in point of faith, and unmistakeable in point of feeling, from the Dutch; but they were not inclined to acquiesce altogether in arrangements which degraded their national flag, and were destructive to the progress of their commerce throughout the Archipelago. It was resolved to open a port in the straits, or somewhere else in those seas, which might secure the great highways of maritime adventure. Pinang and Bencoolen were, indeed, possessed, but another settlement was required, and the region was explored in search of a favourable spot. Negotiations were commenced with the independent Rajah of Rhio, for the establishment of a factory in his dominions, but the Dutch terrified him into a refusal, and bound him by a treaty to admit no European ships except their own. The chiefs of Linging, Siak, Johore, and Pahang, under similar influence, came to a similar resolution.[2] Clearing these waters the English next visited the shores of Borneo, but were followed by the persevering jealousy of their rivals, and when a vessel appeared off Pontianah, with the design of examining the capabilities of the Karimata isles, a squadron of seven

Resolve to open a free port.

Dutch intrigues.

Search for a place of settlement.

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[1] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.* [2] Wilson, *History of India.*

small Dutch men-of-war sailed thither in a threatening attitude, which deterred our countrymen from any further prosecution of the enterprise. The apparition of the Netherlands flag was, according to their own testimony, welcomed with great favour along the coasts of Borneo, where the people suffered much from the numbers and turbulence of Chinese settlers. The old rights of Holland at Sambas, Mampawa, and Pontiana, with various other places, were then peacefully resumed.[1]

A. D. 1819.

The British, therefore, were again forced to search in the Straits of Malacca for the site of a new settlement. Java had been unconditionally surrendered to the Dutch, against the advice of statesmen, and against the interests of Great Britain. Holland, indeed, could not be answerable for the crimes of ambition perpetrated by Napoleon, but it was clearly impolitic, and by no means just, to restore all her former possessions without some reserve in favour of that commerce which had suffered while our fleets were restoring the Netherlands to independence. She had refused to reciprocate the liberality which had given her back her Indian empire.

Monopolising policy of Holland.

No sooner was she reinstated in Java than she endeavoured to monopolise the whole trade of that region, to shut out the English from every native port, to close all direct communication between India and China, and thus to injure a valuable and increasing commerce. Sir Stamford Raffles, with a watchful and patriotic energy, too little remembered by his country, resisted this encroaching spirit. He was appointed governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra, and arrived there on the 22nd of March, 1818. Within ten days he was at issue with the Dutch. Seeking to establish the influence of his nation in the island and to open a port on the southern coast that might command one avenue to the Archipelago, he found a country exceedingly rich, and a people willing to assist his plans.[1] Traversing all the provinces he entered into conventions with chiefs who had never before carried on any communication with white men, and commenced a settlement at Surikanka Bay. The government of Bengal, however, with that improvident timidity which sacrifices a great prospect to escape a trifling risk, refused to support Raffles against the Dutch, annulled his proceedings, and referred all disputed questions to England.[2]

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[1] Temminck, ii.

New British settlement. Singapore.

Suddenly, however, a new British settlement sprang up, in spite of Dutch intrigue. The little island of Singapore had long been viewed by Raffles as a favourable spot for the formation of a commercial settlement. It lies off the head of the peninsula, at the south-eastern entrance of the straits, and is separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. An excellent harbour, in the direct trading route, six days' sail from China, a central position in a mercantile as well as a political point of view, promised many advantages.[3] The transaction which included Singapore among our possessions forms one of the most important episodes of our history in the remoter parts of Asia.

Situation.

Shape. Extent.

The island, elliptical in form, is about twenty-seven miles long at its greatest length, and fifteen at its greatest breadth, with an area of about 270 miles. Around it nearly fifty desert islets were included under its name, while the sea, within ten miles in every direction, is comprehended within its political jurisdiction. Separated from the peninsula by a narrow strait, it is enclosed by a maze of isles, still wild and lonely, though

Surrounding group.

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*.

[2] Wilson, *History of India*, viii. 458.

[3] Wilson, *India*, viii.

overlooking one of the most crowded maritime highways in the East. Surface. The island has an undulating surface, generally less than 100, and nowhere more than 200 feet above the level of the sea. The intervening flats are narrow, and rather swampy.[1] It produces no metal except iron, has only a few shallow streams, and was then covered with unbroken masses of forest. Its deep creeks, however, gave advantages for trade, and its timber for boat and house-building. Productions. A few living creatures, such as the delicate hornless deer, and the Indian roe, inhabited its little solitudes, while the duyong or mermaid haunts its shores and is frequently caught; Animals. but none of the larger animals, commonly found in Asiatic islands of similar extent, are met with in Singapore. Birds, however, abound, though not those of prey, or of the gallinaceous species, but the whistling teal and others, remarkable for the brilliant tints of their plumage, swarm in flocks along its banks, and in its jungles. Snakes are numerous, though not many of a deadly nature, while reptiles abound.

Climate. Singapore lies little more than eighty miles from the equator: its seasons are, therefore, monotonous; rain abounds, especially in the last and the first months of the year, but is frequent at all times. The rainiest period is the coldest, while April and May, being most dry, are most sultry, the thermometer ranging from 71° to 89°.

The town. A healthy site was chosen for the town, and the dwellings in the suburbs perched each on the summit of a hillock, and encircled by richly ornamented grounds, present an aspect the most picturesque.[2] The general surface of the island, however, is naturally not fertile, and the whole is unfit for the growth of corn. Coffee is cultivated, with cloves and nutmegs, besides pepper. Gambier thrives luxuriantly, yielding the terra japonica, a profitable article of trade. Tropical fruits abound with materials of farinaceous food; and the capacities of the island, improved by art, annually exhibit themselves more favourably to our contemplation.

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[1] See, for geology, Lieut.-Col. Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 83.; for conchology and malacology, the remarkable paper by William Traill, M.D. *J. I. A.* i. 225.

[2] *MS. Notes of a Resident.*

Agriculture.

This place, commanding an important approach to the regions of the further East, was destined to be the emporium of British trade in that part of the Archipelago. When the design was formed of establishing a new settlement, Sir Stamford Raffles, and Colonel Farquhar — both entitled to share the honour — were commissioned to choose a place. Rhio was at first proposed, but the Dutch occupied it themselves. The Carimon islands were next visited. They command the main avenues of the straits, are good in a military point of view, possess rich mines of tin and a soil of superior fertility, with great advantages in climate, shelter, and anchorage; but they were rejected, and Johore the ancient city of the Malay empire, now fallen to ruins, was fortunately also passed by. Farquhar's attention was then directed to Singapore. The expedition touched there in February 1819, and negotiations were at once commenced.[1]

Founders of Singapore.

Nearly a hundred years previously, the king of Johore had granted the island to an English traveller, who at once appreciated its commercial value, but rejected it as useless to a private person.[2]

Cession of the island.

The English at first only agreed for permission to build a fort and factory, and to occupy a territory on the north shore, two miles in length, and as wide as a

Its occupation.

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[1] Crawfurd, *Siam*, ii. 401.

[2] Hamilton, *New Account*.

cannon's range. The native chief retained his privileges as lord of the soil; but these were found inconvenient, and a new arrangement was proposed.

Politics of Johore.

Singapore had belonged to Johore, a state whose consequence was now miserably decayed. The last prince died in 1810, when, no heir succeeding, his dominions were dismembered by various chiefs. His first minister took Pahangan on the East, and held it as Rajah, while his chief judge took the western side, with the adjacent isles — Singapore among them. Two bastard sons of the late Sultan, however, rose to contend for the ancient throne of Johore. The Dutch took part with one, the English with the other; the English candidate was successful, and from him and the chief judge the cession of Singapore was obtained. The sovereignty and fee simple of the island, as well as of all the seas, straits, and isles within ten miles of it, were purchased for 60,000 dollars, besides an annuity to the two chiefs of 24,000 dollars, to be paid during the whole of their lives. It was agreed also, that they should receive a donation of 35,000 dollars, whenever they desired to give up their pensioned residence within the British territories. The abolition of the slave trade, and the facilitating of lawful commerce, were particular objects of the treaty.[1]

Population of the island.

The right of the Malay prince to transfer Singapore, though in reality indisputable, was disputed by the Dutch. While the negotiations proceeded, Sir Stamford Raffles occupied the island, which was then peopled by about 150 fishermen, who had built their rude huts on the skirts of this little insular wilderness. They were under the jurisdiction of an officer, entitled Tumangong, who held his office from the Sultan of Johore.[2]

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[1] Crawfurd, *Siam*, ii. 405.

[2] Newbold, *Settlements*.

Thirty of these settlers were Chinese, the rest Malays. In one year the population increased to nearly 5000, and that number was doubled by 1822.[1] Singapore was the first port where, in modern times, the principles of free trade were carried into effect.[2] The British flag was hoisted, and placed under the protection of an armed force. It would have argued some temerity on the part of the governor of Batavia, to attempt wresting the island from its new possessors; but he complained to the Bengal government, protested and declared that its occupation contravened a treaty between his nation and the Sultan of Lingin. That prince, he said, was lawful possessor of Singapore, and he had engaged never to alienate any portion of this territory to an European power without permission from the Dutch.[3]

Its rapid increase.

Dutch factory.

The reply of the British government was prompt and manly. They intended to resist, they said, the exclusive grasping spirit of the Dutch, to protect their commerce from jealousy and injustice, and they denied the right of Holland to demand the restitution of Singapore, which had never belonged to them, as well as to make vassals of native princes in the islands, whom the British government had treated as independent. They had assumed unlawfully the privilege of forcing those sovereigns into treaties which shut out English ships from their ports, and the British government therefore, though it had not yet sanctioned the occupation of Singapore, would not withdraw on account of a Dutch demand.[4]

Negotiations.

Holland was naturally alarmed at this encroachment on the haughty licence she had assumed of giving laws to the commerce of all insular Asia. She was now no longer exclusive ruler over those seas. The British flag was hoisted within the ruined ramparts of the ancient city of Singhapura, and there, amid the decaying relics of an empire founded six centuries before, Raffles established a new Malta in the East. Nothing remained to the Dutch but to revenge on him the injury he had inflicted on their monopoly. One anecdote may illustrate the character of that spirit which would follow a great man into the most common occasions of his life, to wreak on him the revenge of exasperated malice. Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles, with an infant only four months old, were once exposed as well to weariness as privation, when, during a voyage to Bencoolen, their vessel struck on a reef. To lighten her all the water was thrown overboard, and the loss of that precious part of the cargo reduced the whole company, especially the woman, with her child, to an extremity of suffering. At Rhio there was a Dutch settlement—a settlement of white men, professing to be civilised; but when Sir Stamford applied to them for a little water, they said he was a spy, and refused to fill one barrel. Fortunately, an American ship shortly passed, and her captain, at great risk, stopped his course, and gave the assistance needed.[1]

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*.

[2] Newbold, *Settlements*.

[3] See the able sketch of Lieut.-Col. Low, in *Journ. of Ind. Arch.* iv. 23.

[4] Wilson, *History of India*.

Dutch malignity.

No person connected with Raffles was afterwards allowed to enter Java without molestation; but he was too generous to remember this persecution. When, some years later, the Dutch endeavoured to raise a loan of thirty lacs in Bengal, no capitalist would take it up, and on examination, it was found that the only name subscribed was that of Sir Stamford Raffles.[2]

Their

The Dutch were never in amity, either with other

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs.*

[2] Ibid.

Europeans or with the native races. In Timor they came into collision with the Portuguese; in Celebes their subjects broke out in fiery insurrection[1]; in Palembang, the sultan continued to harass them by his hostile conduct; in Banca a revolt took place which raged for two years[2]; while at Banjarmassin, though commissioners had been employed to construct new forts, and frame additional rules for the administration of affairs, the temper of the sultan rebelled against every plan to organise the resources of his state. While the Dutch functionaries were in his presence he yielded to their desires; but no sooner were they gone than his inveterate spirit resumed its influence, and like a Sindhian amir, he desolated the country to provide for his own hunting predilections.[3]

quarrels in Timon; in Sumatra; in Banca.

Up to this period, the Netherlands' Indian possessions were administered by three commissioners, charged from Prince William I. to resume authority in the islands. When the formal resumption had taken place, they sent deputations to the two principal courts of Java, announcing the events which had occurred. They guaranteed adherence to the terms of all treaties those powers might have concluded with the English, as long as they continued faithful and obedient to the government which now came to restore an influence long eclipsed by the tyranny of Napoleon. The commissaries, when they had thus settled on general grounds the principles of the new administration, resigned their authority, on the 16th of June 1819, into the hands of Baron van der Capellen, Governor-general of the restored Netherlands' East Indies.[4]

New government of the Netherlands' Indies.

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[1] *Moniteur*, i. 84.

[2] Dr. Epps, *Schilderungen*. *Jour. Ind. Ar.*

[3] Capellen, *Moniteur*, i. 165.

[4] Temminck, i. 113.

The acts of the commissioners, paraded in the forms of peace, and announced with all the professions of amity, bequeathed to Capellen the causes of many complications. The native sultans, considered by the English as independent, had been treated as tributaries by the Dutch. The one had required from them the observance of a friendly compact, as by an ally; the other had exacted the allegiance and submission of viceroys. Nevertheless, amicable relations continued for a short period to exist. The Governor-general visited the native courts in 1819, and from the sultan at Surakarta, received every flattering expression of respect. Pakubowono II., however, even during the British reign, had evinced an unmitigated aversion to European control, not unnatural, as one whose ancestors had filled the predominant throne of Java. Therefore, though he welcomed Capellen with every assurance of frank and cordial feeling, he speedily began to chafe under the yoke they had imposed upon him. He declared to his ministers that he still enjoyed the ancient prerogatives recognised by the Company in his predecessor,—an announcement which, according to the usual meaning of Oriental phraseology, indicated an intention of recovering them. The Dutch were warned of this foreshadowed design, and hastened to secure themselves against its development; but the sultan was already feeling the approach of death, which restrained the pursuit of his ambitious views.[1] Probably, also, he comprehended the aspect of the times; he knew the nature of that revolution, which throughout India, on both sides of the Ganges, had broken up the ancient monarchies, while the masters of Europe had acquired the dominion of Asia. In all parts of the

Capellen's policy.

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[1] Temminck, i. 119.

Archipelago Holland had succeeded to the sway of many powerful states; and of the few independent sovereignties which still remained, none preserved, the limits of territory or the lustre of renown that made them eminent in former days. In Sumatra a conspicuous example offered itself, glaring enough to force philosophy on an Asiatic prince. The sultan of Achin, whose rule had been acknowledged by immense tracts of country, whose wealth and power had been celebrated in all the further East, and whose favour had been solicited by remote and formidable states, now held a precarious authority over a restricted and impoverished dominion. He could no longer crowd the straits with his fleets, or assail Malacca with barbarian legions innumerable. He no longer reigned over nearly half of the second island in the world; his power had shrunken to its source, and a small tract in the north of Sumatra was all that acknowledged his rule. Long haughty to every European flag, he was now compelled to accept aid from the English, to whom, indeed, his predecessors had always been more favourably inclined than to the Dutch or Portuguese. Established on his throne by their aid, he engaged in return to receive a British resident at Achin; to allow free trade; and form no treaties with other European powers, unless with the consent of the British government. There was a narrowness in this policy, inconsistent with the liberal spirit which had thrown Singapore open to the commerce of all the world; but Holland, which had displayed the example, could not complain that her own teaching had been obeyed.[1] Nor was it, perhaps false policy; because the Dutch seldom made free conventions which did not annul any

Achin;

its fallen condition.

Relations with the English.

Monopoly.

A. D. 1820.

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[1] Wilson, *History of India.*

that previously existed with us, and the free trade of the settlement was not dependent on the good faith of any native prince. Already there, however, the generous system of Sir Stamford Raffles was commencing the display of fruits; and the founder, confirmed in his achievement by the approval of the imperial authority, confided Singapore to the able administration of Colonel Farquhar, who was responsible to him for his proceedings.[1] The political proceedings of the English at that period, however, were characterised by less wisdom; for in attempting to force upon the people of Achin a king whom they had dethroned, and who had behaved contumeliously to the British government, a false and ineffectual course of action was entered upon. Happily, it was speedily arrested, and our intercourse closed with that ancient and famous kingdom, now dwindled to insignificance, and demoralised by alternate anarchy and oppression.[2]

In Java the Dutch enjoyed little intermission from the cares of threatened or actual war. In 1820, the sultan of Surakarta dying, the succession was secured to his eldest son, with the style of Pakubowono V., Ornament of the World, Leader of the Armies, Charitable Servant of God, and Interpreter of the Faith. The deceased prince was fifty-four years of age, had reigned thirty-three years, had fifty-six children and 146 grandchildren; all of them nobles, and most of them intriguers. The Dutch, therefore, were perpetually engaged in observing and counteracting the machination of enemies at the native courts, as well as the plots of the disaffected in their own dominions, while they proceeded with tasks of administrative and

Politics of Java.

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[1] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca.*

[2] Lieut.-Col. J. Low, *J. Ind. Arch.* iv. 20.

Administration of Java.

fiscal reform. The duties of the residents were extended and defined; the police was more effectually organised; the health of the island was improved by sanitary regulations, which, properly developed, might suffice to change the artificial climate engendered by stagnant swamps and decaying vegetation; vaccination was recommended to the people; bridges, canals, roads, and means of irrigation, were multiplied, and several liberal plans were conceived to conciliate the temper, as well as to improve the condition of the native race. Yet the old barbarism of the Netherlands' policy still presided over the Council of Batavia. Prohibitory enactments supplied the place of corrective laws. The settlement of the Chinese in all the residencies had been subjected to restrictions; but now, pretending that their location in the interior was a grievance to the native inhabitants, the Governor-general decreed that no more Chinese should proceed inland, without special authorisation.[1] Turbulent and truculent as the lower class emigrants of that race invariably are, it indicated a weak machinery of government to confine the limits of their settlement, in order to hold them in subjection; but the instruments of rule were then confessedly inferior. An attempt was made to improve them, by a very salutary regulation, that all persons aspiring to honourable appointments under the Dutch East Indian Council should possess a knowledge of the native language.[2] Continual troubles interrupted the attention of Capellen, and in this year an insurrection among the Bugis in Rhio aided in extending the long series of revolts which followed the restoration of Holland to her Asiatic colonies.[3]

Police laws.

Politic enactments.

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[1] Temminck, i. 120.

[2] Ibid. 121.

[3] *Moniteur*, i. 84.

A. D. 1821. Last struggle of Palembang;

and of Banca.

In succession to this was the last conflict with Palembang, which reduced that ancient sultanate beneath the sway of the Dutch. They had frequently been in collision with its sovereign, who had once defeated a squadron under their flag; but it was now resolved to dethrone him, replace him by a successor who would declare his allegiance to them, and end a conflict which threatened to be prolonged for ever.[1] The expedition succeeded with considerable *éclat*, Kolff first planting a standard in the breach; the city was captured, and the Dutch authority firmly established.[2] At the same time terms were effected with the revolted chief of Banca, and that island was restored to a short peace. Nevertheless, it continued to remain for years the scene of commotion; and remains to this day, thinly peopled, poor, and uncivilised, with a small European community lounging away their lives in straw hats and white jackets, while the natural resources of the soil still wait for the industry which could develope them into treasures of mineral wealth.[3] In this year, the Rajah of Keddah, driven from his territories by an invasion of Siamese from Ligin, took refuge at Pinang. There he enjoyed an asylum; but his claims to assistance, which were undeniable, (for he had suffered from granting us the cession of Pinang,) were not fairly acknowledged.[4]

A. D. 1822. Other insurrections.

Among the Padries of Sumatra, the Chinese on the west coast of Borneo, and in other parts of their dominions the Dutch continued to be harassed by insurrectionary outbreaks[5], though by missions and negotiations they endeavoured to secure themselves against the hostility of the disaffected — especially at Matang and Simpang, where their envoy announced every liberal purpose to the native princes.[1] But the main object of their solicitude was the fertile and wealthy island of Java, on which, as the crown of their Indian dominions, they concentrated their peculiar care. Previously, by the confession of their own writers, it had been neglected, amid the confusions of war and the schemes of further conquest. From that period date most of its public institutions for the social advancement of the people. Capellen's administration, indeed, was honourable to himself and beneficial to the Javanese, who still preserve with affection and respect the memory of his name. His administrative decrees displayed an aim of conciliating the Malays by friendliness, rather than coercing them by force. His financial scheme was liberal; and his whole conduct respectful towards the feelings, prejudices, and opinions of the susceptible population he was commissioned to rule. Native chiefs were confirmed in their privileges, and the plans of government were reconciled, to some extent, with the ancient and inveterate usages of the island. Yet a Nemesis appeared long to haunt the country which had witnessed so many disasters and so many crimes; for the authority of the Dutch, though they sought to secure it by temperate laws, required continually the support of arms.[2] In Sumatra they at length gained from the English all their settlements on the western coast.[3] But there also quietude was never

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[1] Temminck, ii. 14.

[2] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.*

[3] Epps, *Schildernugen. Journ. Ind. Arch.*

[4] I do not dwell on the politics of Keddan, because to explain them would require a fulness of details which would be tedious to the English reader.

[5] *Moniteur*, i. (5.) 84.

Long neglect of Java.

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[1] Temminck, ii.

[2] Ibid. i. 115.

[3] The rajah of Kalatan in the Peninsula, in 1822, offered the British all his country, if they would grant him half the revenues; but they refused. A territory in Borneo also was now at their disposal, and Raffles desired to occupy it; but the establishment of

enjoyed; while in some provinces of Java armed bands of marauders scoured the country from village to village, with robbery and murder, until numbers of their chiefs were captured and executed. This happened especially in Cheribon, where the titular prince was induced to yield up his patrimonial domains in consideration of an annual pension to the amount of 18,000 florins.[1]

Spread of Influence.

A. D. 1823. Mission to Japan.

While their *savans* were, in 1823, engaged in a humble mission to Japan [2], their factors on the coast of Borneo were laboriously occupied with schemes of commercial profit. They renewed the settlement at Pontiana on the western coast, and purchased a monopoly of the diamond mines there, but the enterprise was less lucrative than they expected. When this was discovered, they sought to secure the mines worked by a Chinese colony, on lands contiguous to their own, and this not by treaty but by force of arms. Their troops, however, were defeated, not in open field indeed, but by the savage device of poisoned water. Another plan was then adopted. The Dutch applied to the sultan of Sambas for permission to settle in his territory. He sold them the privilege, and they immediately took advantage of it. Thus the Chinese were enclosed between the territories of an enemy on each side, while open boats patrolled the sea, preventing them at once from leaving the neighbourhood or pursuing their trade. They held out many years against this piratical invasion of their rights; but the phlegm of the Hollanders at length overcame the obstinacy of the Chinese, who consented to trade only through Dutch ports. Whilst shut up, however, they had learned to subsist without commerce, so that little advantage was derived

Exertion in Borneo.

Chinese in Borneo.

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our influence there was reserved for Sir James Brooke. Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 109.

[1] Temminck, i. 117.

[2] *Moniteur*, i. 84.

from the new relations with them. Previously to the arrival of the Dutch, an extensive traffic had circulated between that coast and the rest of the Archipelago, Western India, Cochin China, Arabia, and the Celestial Empire. It now sunk into insignificance, and the European establishments were maintained at a loss. Hitherto 3000 Chinese had annually arrived to settle there; but now the stream dwindled away, and for some time was wholly dried up.[1] So true is it that no people can be coerced into enterprise, or compelled to become profitable allies. Disappointed in their own attempt, they would permit no other nation to succeed; and though not absolutely blockading the coast, exposed the private trader to so many insults and grievances, that for some years no English ship from Singapore visited the western coast of Borneo.[2]

False policy of the settlers.

Meanwhile in Java, amid the confusion of politics in the two dependent native states, the materials of future disturbance rapidly accumulated. The machinations of princes stimulated by the intrigues of their ministers, embarrassments and losses caused by the revocation of privileges granted to several Chinese and European speculators, the confidence afforded to persons of foreign blood in Yugyacarta, and the general disarmament of Java by expedition to Celebes (which drained away all its military resources), encouraged the designs of the disaffected. Complaints arose all over the island; the number of malcontents increased; the disruption of the finances bewildered the Governor-general; a conscious conspiracy lurked in the hearts of the people, animated by recollections of former times when the provinces of Java were independent. Neither the sultan of Surakarta nor the sultan of Yugyacarta,

Threatened disturbance in Java.

Causes of disaffection.

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*

[2] Ibid.

possessed the confidence of the tribes or the Elders, so that every circumstance promoted the explosion of those ingredients which, ever since the fall of Mataram, had been compounding among the native states of Java. A strange power, foreign to the soil, to the manners, to the blood and religion of the island, was hourly encroaching on its customs, faith, and institutions, as well not only on the estates, as on the very means of subsistence enjoyed in prescriptive right by the chiefs and other dignitaries, hitherto lords of the soil. To the great horde of malcontents, therefore, there needed only a leader; for the heat of faction, and the frenzy of religious zeal, were combined to exasperate the population.[1] Nor was Java the only theatre of approaching commotion; a general storm of insurrection and war was blackening over the whole Archipelago.

Wretched policy in the Moluccas.

In the Moluccas, since the treaty of Tello, in 1668, the Dutch had maintained their influence over the chiefs of states included in the federative compact; and under the Company, too often abused that power. Industry had thus been injured, and the aborigines destroyed. Their operations indeed, were confessedly pursued on principles the most immoral. To strengthen their ascendancy over the island princes, they encouraged and propagated jealousies and hatreds among them, which assisted that exterminating process celebrated as the work of Holland in that part of the Archipelago. In Celebes a similar plan was followed: the inveterate rivalry between Boni and Goa was fomented, until the consequences of the struggle recoiled on the promoters of it. The sovereign of Boni, like the Peishwa among the Mahrattas, claimed to be recognised as head of the Celebes' confederation; and in all political trans-

Transactions in Celebes.

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[1] Temminck, i. 127.

actions, assumed a right to lead the negotiations in the names of the other princes. During several years his haughty conduct attracted little notice from the Dutch, until in 1823, the king died, and his sister, Arong Datu, was elected to the throne. Envoys then came, requesting their sanction to the choice of a monarch. Flattered by this token of homage, they imagined a return of the old days — undisputed authority on their part, and on the part of the natives unqualified submission.[1]

A. D. 1824.

Nevertheless, the government of Boni yielded none of its arrogant pretensions; and when, in 1824, Capellen, visiting those seas, held audience at Goa, it sent an envoy refusing a treaty which he had dictated for its acceptance. The Dutch, indeed, displayed an assumption of imperial prerogative, to which the queen of Boni was naturally reluctant to submit. They offered fifteen days for the assent to be given; they declared that Boni should no longer be tolerated in its haughty demeanour towards other states of the island; demanded the restitution of some districts which had been encroached upon; and required that the princes of Tanette and Soepa should be severely punished, for manifesting an inclination to league with the Bugis in their revolt against the Netherlands' authority.

Celebes.

During the British occupation of Celebes in 1814 and 1815, Tanette and Soepa had been allies of Boni, and fought against the English, occupying three provinces once belonging to the Dutch Company. When the Netherlands' restoration took place, the restitution of these territories had been demanded, but the demand under various pretences had been evaded. Adverse from plunging Celebes into war, they refrained from enforcing the claim, until Capellen in 1824, before quitting the island ordered a squadron to force from Tanette a fulfilment of the terms to which by treaty it was engaged. A summons on one side, with a defiance on the other, was followed by a bombardment of the town. But the people saw no advantage in burying themselves under the ruins of their houses, because their sovereign persisted in breaking faith. They consequently deposed him, elected his sister to the throne, and made their submission to the Dutch. The disputed country was then occupied, at little cost of time or blood. At Soepa, however, the expedition encountered a more formidable resistance. Twice repulsed, they were in return forced to become defenders of the position they had taken upon shore, for the Bugis swarmed in delight to the insurrectionary standard, and would gladly have obliterated the traces of European domination from the soil of their country. Reinforcements from Makassar, however, saved the Dutch from destruction, though on all sides dangers appeared to grow, which threatened the very existence of their Asiatic dominions.[1] And while they were struggling for the perpetuity of their influence, the English in Singapore were flourishing peacefully, in the promise of a thriving trade; and had already, in the true national spirit, established a newspaper as the organ of the community.[2] Yet this little offspring of the press, first shedding its Sibylline leaves in that remote island of Asia, suffered at first under censorship, — the blighting influence of which continued, during four years, to stint its growth and sallow its complexion.

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[1] Temminck, iii. 23.

Conquests in that island.

The English in Singapore.

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[1] Temminck, iii. 26.

[2] *Singapore Chronicle*, 1823.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1824. The treaty of 1824.

THE year 1824 was rendered conspicuous in the history of the Indian Archipelago by the treaty then concluded between Great Britain and Holland.[1] The two countries, since the treaty of Vienna, had been separated by commercial jealousy, and mutual recrimination rendered a new settlement essential. The Dutch had persevered in numerous infractions of the engagement, which secured them the recovery of their possessions. The English were not satisfied with the equivocal situation of affairs. Much diplomatic negotiation had taken place, and at length, on 17th of March 1824, a new treaty was signed at London by Canning on the part of Great Britain, and Baron Fagel on the part of the Netherlands.

Spirit of the treaty.

The preamble of this convention set forth, that it was concluded from a desire to terminate the mutual differences and jealousies which had long interrupted the harmony of the two states. The treaty consisted of seventeen articles, and was expressed in distinct terms. The contracting powers engaged mutually, each to admit the subjects of the other to trade at all the ports in their Eastern possessions, whether in India, Ceylon, or the Archipelago, and neither to exact from the subjects and vessels of the other nation any duties at a rate more than double that which their own subjects and vessels paid. On Dutch articles, to which no duty was attached when imported or exported by the subjects or in the vessels of the nations to which the port belonged, the charge on the subjects or vessels of the other was in no case to exceed six per cent.

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[1] *Moniteur*, i. 84.

Both high contracting parties engaged that no treaty should in future be made with any native power in the Eastern seas, directly by stipulation, or indirectly by the imposition of unequal duties, excluding the trade of the other from any of its ports. All articles in former treaties tending to this effect were to be abrogated from the date of this convention. It was understood that all the compacts existing between either and any native powers had been reciprocally made known, while it was agreed that all contracted in future should be mutually communicated without delay. Both engaged to permit and defend the freedom of trade in the Archipelago, to concur in their efforts for the repression of piracy, to grant no asylum to piratical vessels, and allow no captured ships or plundered merchandise to be sold in the ports of their respective possessions.

The Dutch secured themselves favourable stipulations in this treaty. They provided against the recurrence of an event like that of the occupation of Singapore, which was first effected by Raffles, and afterwards authorised by his government. It was agreed that the officers and agents of neither nation should form any new settlement in the Eastern seas, without previous authority from their respective governments in Europe. They also procured the exemption of the Molucca islands, especially Banda, Amboyna, and Ternate, from the operation of the first three articles, securing liberty of trade, until Holland should think fit to abandon the monopoly of spices, though consenting that if any other than a native Asiatic power were ever admitted to carry on commercial intercourse with that group, the subjects of Great Britain should be immediately received on a footing precisely similar.

The Netherlands ceded to Great Britain all their establishments, with the attendant privileges and exemptions on the continent of India. In return they received Fort Marlborough, and all the English possessions in Sumatra, with an agreement that no British settlement should be formed, and no treaty concluded with any native prince, chief, or state in that island. Malacca, with its dependencies, was obtained from the Dutch, who engaged to abstain in a similar manner from all political intercourse with the peninsula. Further, the British government withdrew its objection to the occupation of Biliton by the Dutch, and the Dutch to the occupation of Biliton by the English, while the English agreed "that no British establishment shall be made on the Carimon isles, or on the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or any of the other islands south of the straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands." Neither power, however, retained the right of transferring the territories it had exchanged to any other government. In case of any of these possessions being abandoned by one, the right of occupying them immediately passed to the other. These, with the payment of 100,000*l.* sterling indemnity by the Dutch, for accounts and reclamations arising from the restoration of their power in the East Indies, and some unimportant provisions to secure the fulfilment of the engagements, constituted the stipulations of this famous treaty. Great Britain, undoubtedly, sacrificed large interests by her concessions to the Dutch, by yielding Sumatra entirely to their influence, while by rendering unlawful the alienation of the ceded territories to any other power, she bestowed a favour on them. Generosity of this kind involves injustice to our own trade, which has suffered

Value of the treaty.

greatly under the provisions of that engagement.[1] Thenceforward, however, there was at least a clear and unequivocal compact to refer to, when differences arose, though the diplomatists of Holland have not failed to misinterpret some of the articles in order to pursue their scheme of commercial and political supremacy in the Archipelago.

The Moluccas especially were explicitly described in a subsequent note of the British to the Netherlands' plenipotentiaries. The term applied to the cluster of islands which has Celebes to the westward, New Guinea to the eastward, and Timor to the southward, — these three islands, however, not being included in the exception, nor would Ceram so have been included had it not been considered that its situation in reference to Amboyna and Banda required a prohibition of intercourse with it, so long as the monopoly of spices was maintained.[2] The Dutch were then engaged in consolidating their political authority in these isles which had been shaken by revolt. By a decree of the governor-general, the resident appointed from Batavia to Ternate had his jurisdiction extended from that island to Tidor, Halmahera or Gilolo, Batjan, Riow, and Mortai, on the north, to the Xulla isles, the Papu groups, Waidja, Salwatti, Mysol, a part of the eastern coast of Celebes to the south of Cape Walch, with the districts of Balante, Mondango, Takungku, and the isles of Taliabo, and Bongai. This civil and military functionary was responsible to the governor of Amboyna, who held his authority directly from the governor-general.[3]

In the meanwhile, though the Dutch were engaged

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[1] Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 111.

[2] March 17th, 1824.

[3] Temminck, iii. 31.

Dutch progress in Celebes.

in laying the foundations for an amicable intercourse with their rivals in the Archipelago, and for a peaceful administration of their territories, the war in Celebes continued to require all their vigilance and vigour. At Soepa the Bugis met them hand to hand, crossed the Kriss and the Klewang, with the bayonet and the sword, and forced their assailants to retire. The squadron, which had been commissioned to carry the place by assault, was forced to adopt the expedient of a blockade, since on land the enemy grew more formidable every day. All the tribes to the north of Makassar, encouraged by these occurrences, rose in arms. Their martial spirit was excited by any prospect of defeating those Europeans who had stained the pride of that independence which Celebes had long enjoyed. Fear, however, furnished to the Dutch resources that which their deliberations had not been able to provide. With an authority shaken throughout the island, and new perils continually appearing to blacken the horizon of their fortunes, they swept Java of its military defences, launched a powerful squadron, filled it with troops, and carried war along the coasts of Celebes, as once their nation had done along the coasts of Malabar. Makassar was relieved, Soepa was stormed, the maritime provinces were occupied, and the enemy driven into the interior. Still the victory was barren. It procured a brief interval of tranquillity, but the cause of the danger was not destroyed, and before it could effectually complete its task, the invading force was summoned to rescue from utter ruin the dominion of Holland in Java.[1] A ship was at the same time despatched to take formal possession of the Karimata isles[2], and an expedition under Major Müller was sent to explore the

A. D. 1825.

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[1] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.*

[2] Temminck.

Koti river on the eastern coast of Borneo. It met, however, with a disastrous fate. The savage tribes of the border attacked the party, and only a few Javanese escaped.[1]

Mercantile enterprize of the Dutch.

Nevertheless, in their anxiety to extend the influence which in the heart of their own possessions they saw decaying, the Dutch searched everywhere for new fields of political operation. During the flourishing period of the old East India Company, the islands between Timor and New Guinea had been explored, and taken possession of in the name of the States-General. Factories and forts had been erected on them to store spices, and to defend the seas of the neighbouring Archipelago, which to Holland was the richest prize of discovery. They had long, however, been neglected, and at length abandoned. Notwithstanding, when the English were in possession of the Moluccas, and when Holland as an independent state had ceased to exist, her flag in Japan continued flying, and in these islands her influence was acknowledged. Their simple population knew nothing of the political dramas then exciting Europe, and never forgot to respect the authority which had once been paramount over them. Lieutenant Kolff was now instructed to proceed into those seas, and search for the remains of forts in the isles of Arru, Tenimber and Serwatty[2], to establish friendly relations with the people and invite them to traffic. At Kissa the natives received them well, showed them the old buildings of the Company unimpaired, and faithfully preserved and acknowledged the supremacy of the Netherlands' government. Their chiefs were presented with wands of office, and the

Kolff's expedition.

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*.

[2] Probably, says Mr. Earl, a corruption of the Dutch Zuid Westr, or south-western. Kolff.

same process was repeated throughout that interesting family of islands.

The Arafura Isles.

The groups known as the islands of the Arafura sea consist of the Tenimber, the Ki and the Arru groups, with others of inferior significance. They are scattered over a considerable space of sea, and vary in size from seventy miles in length to mere tufts of verdure floating on the sea, like baskets of grass and flowers, crowned by tall clumps of palm, and dispersing through the atmosphere a fragrance like that of the cinnamon gardens in Ceylon.

The Serwatty.

The Serwatty isles[1] consist of Wetta, Kissa, Lette, Moa, Roma, Nusa, Midka, Damma, Lakor, Luan, Baba, Semata, Zeon, and Nila, with others, too many and too small to particularise. They are situated a little to the south-west of Timor, directly north of Cambridge Gulf in New Holland. Clusters of hillocks covered with green rise in harmonious arrangement amid cultivated fields, where neat wood-built villages are sprinkled at intervals among groves of trees and crops of rice and maize. Beautiful little edifices have been built on them, which are regularly attended by congregations of men, women and children, dressed partly in old European fashions, partly in their ancient costume, but in pious simplicity, accepting the interpretation of the Christian faith. School-houses and other structures diversify the aspect of the hamlets. All the buildings are neat; all the people are industrious. Every dwelling has its garden, tastefully laid out with beds of Indian corn, tobacco, cabbages, and other productions shaded by lines of trees. In the fat pastures of the vallies herds of cattle graze, and the whole face

Description of the Eastern groups.

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[1] See a beautiful sketch by George Windsor Earl. *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 172.

of the groups is happy, primitive, and picturesque. In Roma is a beautiful village, seated below a crescent curve of hills glowing to the peak with red and golden tints from a thousand uncultivated flowers, which spring up amid the grass. On this feed flocks of goats and sheep, and other animals, while the eye ranges from coast to coast over plantations of rice and maize: clusters of fruit trees ornament the corners of the fields, and among their branches the bees hang their immense nests, which supply honey and wax in abundance to the pastoral inhabitants of the island. They trade in boats of various dimensions, exchanging their produce one with another, or bartering it with the Dutch for clothes and other commodities.

Account of Damma.

Changes in its aspect.

In Damma, however, this picture of prosperity belongs to a former day. Jungles grow over its fields, once clothed with harvests of grain, Miserable assemblages of huts contrast with the neat and bright villages of Kissa, Wetta, and Roma. Lakor, again, has the appearance of a huge coral bank raised about twenty feet above the sea, with a few patches of sand scattered over its surface, and an occasional bed of mould, affording sustenance to stunted clumps of the cocoa-palm, to yams, and to other humble roots, which contribute to the support of a scanty population. Some of the islands are uninhabited; while others, like Nila, afford a home to a few poor heathens, who tend their hogs and fowls under the shade of its cocoa trees. These, at the changing of the monsoons, they barter for clothes and various descriptions of food, while some of them eke out their spare means of life by joining the piratical expeditions which have ever devastated these seas.

Trade.

The Tenimber Isles.

The Tenimber group consists of many islands, inhabited by a curious race of people, half savage in manners, whose villages, built on limestone hills near the shore, combine with the varying outlines of the surface, the fresh and green aspect of the interior slopes, and the blue water in the channels between, to present a graceful prospect to the navigator's eye,— equal in brilliance, and in variety superior to those mingled enchantments of sea and land which fascinate a voyager in the Ægean.

The Arru group.

The Arru group is divided into the western and the eastern—Wama, Wakan, and Maykor. In the former are Christians and Mohammedans, while in the eastern, and subject to them, are heathen Arafuras.

Aspect.

Inhabitants.

Viewed from the sea these islands are low, with small green hills of smooth outline, displaying themselves behind clusters of limestone rock. The aborigines dwell in villages of ten or twelve houses each, ruled by an elder of the tribe. They are half barbarians, addicted to industry, and slightly inclined to trade.[1] There is great harmony among them, as well as the promise of future civilisation. Art, as well as the humbler forms of mechanical application, has made some progress among them, for elaborate carvings and interesting though quaint devices of decoration in their houses, tombs, and public edifices, testify to an inventive and creative ingenuity.[2] The islands have always been much visited by native merchants for the trepang — of twenty sorts — the tortoiseshell, the edible birds' nests, and pearls which they afford. At Dobbo a mart is held, which congregates the traders of all the surrounding region.[3] The chief of this place bears the silver-headed wand of office, presented to him by the Dutch, who have several substantial and richly stored warehouses on the spot of land where the annual mart is held. Dobbo is on the

The mart of Dobbo.

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[1] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.*

[2] Stanley. Stokes, *Discovery.*

[3] Kolff, *Dourga.*

island of Braunna. The fair is continued during nine months in the year. Numerous sheds, thatched with atap, are scattered along the beach, intended to shelter the traders' vessels, which are drawn up beneath them, and thus defended from the sun. Early in the season a number of brigs from the port of Java repair to this spot of land, with paddakans from Celebes, and a crowd of smaller craft from the Ki islands. Having houses for the disposal of their merchandise, they plant cannon around them, and remain until the cargo is sold. As each vessel is lightened of its freight, it is despatched to the more remote groups in search of trepang, edible birds' nests, tortoiseshell, and mother of pearl; for the Arru do not produce all these commodities, serving rather as a depôt for them. Gradually the resort grows thicker, and Bugis, Javanese, Malays, Chinamen, Papuans, Manilla people, and perhaps hordes of the wandering Biajus, are collected at Dobbo, armed and accoutred like warriors, but intent on peaceful trade. A great accumulation of property then takes place [1], amid which, in proximity to the products of Indian industry, we may perceive the shawls of Paisley and Glasgow, the cottons and cloths of Manchester, and the hardware of our northern cities.[2]

Ceram, Laut, and Goram.

The Ceram—Laut, and Goram are other islands of that sea, seldom visited by Europeans, but of a very interesting character. The Ki appear like so many isolated mountains, thinly peopled, one of which is famous for its potteries. At another are built prahus celebrated for their sailing qualities and strength among the mariners of Banda and Ceram. The people are mild and peaceful, though addicted to wrecking, when a ship is stranded on their coast.[1] No influence was ever established by the English in that remote and beautiful Archipelago, and the Dutch, though they now claimed its sovereignty for their flag, failed to create in it any active or fructifying principles of civilisation.

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[1] Earl, *Trading Ports*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 492.

[2] Stanley. Stokes, *Discovery*.

Restoration of Malacca to the English.

While they diligently pursued their enterprises there, the English once more became possessors of the oldest European settlement in the Archipelago. Their flag was hoisted at Malacca, which, like Singapore, was declared free to the commerce of the world. One exception, through a diplomatic error, was left. These ports not being included in the commercial treaty with America, signed in 1815, were closed against that nation, — the former being then about to be delivered to the Dutch, the latter being not yet established. The Americans, however, carried on a clandestine traffic, and in 1825 one of their traders was seized, that the provisions of international law might be asserted.[2]

American Trade.

Naning.

With Malacca the English regained Naning, an inland territory in the Malay Peninsula[3], in length about forty, and in breadth about ten miles, to the north of the old Portuguese capital. It is an undulating district, composed of jungly knolls and round valleys — inhabited chiefly by Malays — about 6000 in number. They dwell in rudely built villages, and profess the Mohammedan religion, though they sacrifice the buffalo to Allah, in defiance of his prophet's law. Their country has gold mines and many valuable productions; but its resources have never yet been well developed.[4] It was offered to a native chief, but he refused the stipulations which the British government required to be fulfilled.[5]

Its people.

Gold Mines.

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[1] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.*

[2] Newbold, *Settlements.*

[3] Ibid. i. 190.

[4] *MS. Account of Naning.*

[5] Newbold, i. 225.

The Straits Settlement.

The settlements on the Peninsula then became a dependency of Bengal, though in the next year they relapsed under the Straits government.[1]

Great war of Java.

I shall now notice the great war in Java, describe its origin, and pass on to its conclusion, leaving other incidents occurring during that period to be spoken of afterwards.

Summary of Javan politics.

We have already seen, that at the end of the great conflict between Mangkubumi and Pakubowono, in 1745, the independent territories of Java — the ancient monarchy of Mataram — were divided into two states — Surakarta and Yugyacarta. This partition relieved the island from a dreadful war, and seemed to create two equal and rival powers, whose mutual jealousies would secure the Dutch against their confederated hostility. Mangkubumi was elevated to the sultanate of Yagyacarta, dwelling in the city of that name, with the title and style of Hamangku Buwoni I., Who holds the Earth on his Knees, Chief of the Armies, Charitable Servant of the True Faith, Interpreter of Religion, and Minister of God. He reigned thirty-seven years, without engaging in any wars, or provoking his own subjects to rebellion. A prudent and honest man, with a cultivated mind, a vigorous understanding, and a character respected by the Javanese, he deserves to be included among the most illustrious princes the island had produced. An excessive vanity, however, blemished his nature, as well as an implacable hatred of a chief who had offended his pride. Nevertheless, under his rule Yugyacarta enjoyed a constant and increasing prosperity, and he continued to hold the most friendly intercourse with the Dutch. Indeed, after seventeen years from his accession, he proposed to contract with them a loan of 5000 piastres, which he desired to lay out in purchasing cattle and implements to promote agriculture in his dominions.

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[1] Newbold, i. 135.

The Company, at his request, nominated as heir to the throne his legitimate son, eldest issue of his second wife, Adhipati Hunum Mangkunegoro. This prince dissimulated feelings very contrary to those of his father, but in a few years after his accession manifested them without much reserve. The policy of the state was changed, and the influence of the Company was considered as a yoke only to be borne until an opportunity arrived for throwing it off. He succeeded in 1792, at the age of forty-four. The society of his women and his slaves, the luxury and number of his palaces, and the extravagant profusion of his whole life, drained away the accumulated treasures of the kingdom, and new taxes were imposed. Many of these were oppressive and vexatious, and the people murmured audibly against them, so that the causes of rebellion were early engendered under his administration.

Remote origin of the war.

Hostile as he was to the Company, however, he concluded a new treaty with it, though never ceasing to infringe the terms of his own authority by encroachments on territories and populations over which he had no claim to rule. On the other hand, the Dutch were eager to promote the growth of their own influence in the island, and conceived the idea of a new distribution of lands between the sultan and the Susunan, but the fierce opposition encountered induced them to desist. If their design was aggressive, nothing could be more impolitic than their abandonment of it. Indeed, this imbecility of purpose, this retreat from its own enterprise, is enumerated by the historians of the Company as a symptom and precursor, if not one cause of its downfall. That downfall rapidly approached. A multiplication of circumstances in India, the rising storm of revolution in Europe, the state of its own finances, and the general paralysis of commerce, foreshadowed and accelerated its ruin. As it travelled more swiftly down its long decline, the duties of power were neglected with more indifference than ever — a sign of approaching dissolution, never deceptive.

While Marshal Daendels, after the fall of the Company in 1798, administered the Dutch East India possessions, a new series of regulations with reference to intercourse with the native courts was framed; but it was not until 1810 that the Sultan of Yugyacarta accorded his consent to the plan. Even then it was a doubtful assent, for the spirit of hostility had sprung up and deeply impregnated the councils of the state. Meanwhile, in the kingdom of Bantam, a conspiracy was formed against the Dutch; some of their officers and soldiers were murdered, and the sultan was, in retaliation, attacked in his palace. The palace was captured; the sultan, with his family, was transported to Amboyna; his minister was shot, his treasures were taken as booty, and the territory annexed.[1]

Conspiracy.

Outrage on the Dutch.

This success inflating the pride of the Marshal, who, in other parts of the Archipelago, disgraced his nation as much as he aggrandised it in Java, stimulated him to new achievements. It was the custom for the Europeans to pay homage at the native courts in a manner which he considered humiliating, and which, indeed, was anomalous, when we consider the relative power of the sultans and the men who acted the ceremonial of obeisance. It was as though the East India Company should swear allegiance to the wretched prince of Hydrabad. Daendels therefore abolished the practice,

Causes of rupture.

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[1] Temminck, i. 146.

which contributed, no doubt, to fan the flame of hatred which had long burnt secretly in the breast of the sultan. That sovereign, ruled by the caprice of a beautiful wife, was carried along by the stream of intrigue which took its origin in his court. Schemes to determine the succession for the favourite of a party absorbed every mind, and, while factions conflicted, the duties of government were left in the hands of those who cared not to perform them. Curses arose from the people; sullen and angry menaces passed from mouth to mouth; and while the promoters of the danger were idly and stupidly dreaming over their own conspiracies, the materials of a general combustion were accumulating in all the provinces of the kingdom.

Anarchy of Java.

At this time the Susunan made an irruption within the frontiers of the sultan; armed bands began to cross the boundaries; the Dutch residences were threatened, and an army of 13,000 men were collected around the palace at Yugyacarta. Immediately an European force was prepared, a demonstration was made to intimidate the disaffected people, and the sultan was compelled to sign a new treaty, dated the 10th of September, 1810. It forced him to recall a discarded minister, and to exile three turbulent chiefs. Two of these were captured by the Dutch, and transported to Makassar; but the third escaped with several of his partisans. He fled to the south coast, rallied great numbers to his flag, took the title of Susunan, declared himself at war with the sultan, but lost his life in an engagement with the Dutch. They, not satisfied with every concession of the sultan, deposed him, elected his eldest son to the throne, and dictated a new treaty to the wretched princes who now alone represented the native government of Java. Territories with half a million of inhabitants were thus acquired.

Dutch interposition.

The new Sultan, Hamangku Buwoni III., while Holland was incorporated by Napoleon in the immense map of the French empire, and while the English held possession of Java, submitted to the return of his father, under whom he reigned as prince regent. The old sovereign, however, no sooner recovered his power than he displayed himself in an hostile attitude to the English, who attacked him in his palace, where he was captured sword in hand. The son was again enthroned, and the fallen monarch carried to Pinang. Hamangku Buwoni essayed to restore the former prosperity of the state. Agriculture was encouraged under him, but in 1814 he died, and was succeeded by his son, the fourth of the name, then only thirteen years old. He was placed under tutorship until 1820, when he assumed the administration for himself. The country was then in peace, but the population, under an arbitrary yoke, found itself far less happy than the inhabitants of the maritime provinces, for the genius of European civilisation, however defaced as it has been in some part of the Archipelago, was still preferable to the ignorant and rapacious tyranny of the native princes.

Direct cause of the war.

The circumstance, however, which kindled the great war was one of political economy. The plan of farming out lands on emphytiotic leases was introduced by the new prince, and the estates became so valuable that European and Chinese capitalists began to speculate in them. This system had many supporters, but many others condemned it as opposed to the general policy of the Dutch, who decided to resist its extension. They procured, therefore, from the two native princes a decree, dated the 6th of May, 1823, which declared null, from the 31st of January, 1824, all grants of leases, not authorised by them. This arbitrary proceeding, contrary to good faith and honourable principles, provoked a tempest of indignation, and when too late was in 1827 partially revised, while finally the original plan was allowed to be developed in full integrity.

This decree was probably not the only cause of the revolt, but it was incontestably the principal. That the assent of the native princes was obtained to it is nothing: it is common for Oriental princes to accept a treaty which they never intend to fulfil. That the Court of Surakarta, equally concerned with that of Yugyacarta in the effects of the edict, refused to join the rebels, is also unimportant, because it simply proves that the Susunan was not sufficiently infuriated to join in a desperate encounter with enemies whom he probably foresaw would crush every opponent. That the storm was not allayed by the partial revocation of the law, is the least convincing of the arguments to show that a prohibition to farm land was not the main incitement to the war. When a nation is once provoked to rebellion it is seldom in the power of its oppressor to allay the hurricane by yielding the original point in dispute.

Agitation of the island.

While the ferment was rising which this decree produced, Hamangku Buwono IV. died, beloved, it is said, by his people, and respected by the Dutch. It was rumoured that he had been poisoned by his uncle Dhipo Negoro, whose hatred of him was notorious, and who was declared to have exclaimed amid the mourning assemblage kneeling round the body of the dead king, "Now God be praised, affairs will go well in Yugyacarta!"

This man however was, with three colleagues, nominated as tutor to the new sultan, until his majority. He was also appointed to administer the royal revenues — 100,000 piastres — but restrained from interfering in the conduct of public affairs. These were entrusted to a minister controlled by the Dutch resident.

When, however, the question of compensation to the farmers of land was brought before the Dutch and native authorities for settlement, disputes and jealousies arose, the intricacies of which would confound, without interesting the English reader. Little regard was had to the pride, to the prejudice, to the dignity or the rights of Dhipo Negoro, who, galled to the heart by an outrage confessedly gross[1], plunged into a conspiracy for rooting out the Netherlands' power in Java. His name in the native language signified "The Torch of the Nation," his descent lineally from the ancient sovereigns of Mataram inspired him with a confidence in fortune; his hatred of the Europeans was aggravated by their treatment of him, and his ambition, aiming at the throne, saw no chance of attaining its object except through the bloody and dangerous paths of civil war. He was then forty-seven years of age, common in appearance, but in force of character superior to most of the personages who had acted in the long drama of the Javanese revolution. By the aid of an intriguing priest, he animated the population in his cause; by his chivalrous bearing and liberal engagements, he attracted the fiery chiefs, who burned with the aspiration of once more possessing an independent country; and by playing well upon a disaffection already widely spread, he kindled one of the most sanguinary and formidable struggles that ever devastated Java. The revolt broke out in 1825; it soon took the aspect of a regular war; the season closed in, leaving no advantage to either side, and when Capellen, in 1826, quitted his post, to

Conspiracy against Holland.

Dhipo Negoro.

Kindling of the rebellion.

A. D. 1826.

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[1] Temminck, i.

be succeeded by De Ghisignies, the whole of the independent state was divided into two camps.

The war.

We shall not follow this war through its innumerable and monotonous details. From province to province, from village to village, from house to house, the flames of insurrection spread; battles took place, some favourable, some adverse to the rebellious hordes; but blood was poured out like water, and the accumulated fruits of a long and comparatively prosperous peace were scattered and wasted in the fury of a five years' war. At the end of 1826, some provinces were tranquillised, and the next year a more effectual plan of military operations was adopted. On every spot where the Dutch obtained a success, they built a fort; they formed eight divisions of native auxiliaries; they enfiladed the principal roads and passes with artillery; they strengthened their army, and vigorously pursued the campaign. Yet the time went on; the natives, though defeated, offered no submission, and the year closed, having consumed 3000 European troops, while more than a thousand besides, were in the hospitals. It was not until 1830 that the gallant and unfortunate Dhipo Negoro, abandoned by his friends, pressed by his enemies, hunted from mountain to mountain, and driven at length into a rocky desert in the south, was captured and transported as a prisoner to the fortress of Rotterdam in Makassar. The war was then over. It had cost more than 25,000,000 florins; it had shed the blood of 15,000 combatants, more than half of whom were Europeans; and it remained to heal, if healed they could be, the wounds which it had inflicted. The Dutch were undisputed masters of Java, and a new governor-general, Van Den Bosch, was commissioned to the task. By a treaty dated the 27th of September, 1830, the Susunan of Surakarta, and the sultan of Yu-

A. D. 1827.

The Dutch operation.

A. D. 1828.

A. D. 1830. Negoro captured.

End of the war.

Pacification of Java.

gyacarta, were confirmed in their respective dignities; but their territorial rights were more distinctly defined, and the provinces of Pajang and Sukuwati, were given to the former prince, while all Mataram and Gunong Kudel were conceded to the latter.

Dutch acquisition.

The richest territories of their kingdoms however were appropriated by the Dutch, and very reasonably, to compensate them in some degree for the cost of the war. Their aggregate population amounted to about 1,000,000, and they were distributed into the four residencies of Bagelan, Banjumas, Madion and Kediri, which have recently improved to a high extent, under the Netherlands administration.[1] It is a truth, honourable to the Dutch, and one to inspire them with legitimate pride, that during this long war none of their own subjects, even in the populous districts once most frequently disturbed by insurrectionary commotion, displayed any inclination to join the standard of Dhipo Negoro.[2] From that time, moreover, Java has enjoyed a tranquillity, which enabled the Dutch to consolidate many places by administrative liberality; and the historian must turn with pleasure from the narrative of intrigue, atrocity, and aggression to the view of those more glorious conquests, which brought Holland an empire, and made her worthy of it—founded in just laws, and presided over by the amenities of civilisation.

Subsequent tranquillity of Java.

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[1] Temminck, i. 191. *Moniteur*, i. 85. Major Stuer wrote a full account of the campaign.

[2] Hogendorp, *Java*.

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1825.

THOUGH the Javan war absorbed all the military resources of the Dutch, they spared sufficient energy to continue their political negotiations in other parts of the Archipelago. In 1823, they had made a new treaty with the sultan of Banjarmassim in Borneo. His authority was greatly circumscribed; all criminal punishments necessitating mutilation of the person were abolished; the revenues were more equitably collected, and the pepper plantations were placed under more provident and skilful management. Tarnuah was ceded to the Dutch by the sultan; but that prince died before he could fulfil all his engagements to them. Therefore when his son Adam succeeded him, another convention was signed, confirming the old stipulations, and designed to protect the people from the rapacity of the nobles. The whole defence of the country was confided to the Dutch, who provided effectually by these and other means for their own supremacy.[1]

Dutch influence at Banjarmassim.

A. D. 1826. Settlement in New Guinea.

In 1826, they extended the theatre of their colonial operations, taking possession of the western part of New Guinea, where a settlement was founded. Probably their progress in that huge and little known island would have been more considerable, but for events which then called their attention to the Moluccas. The Alfoeras of Ternate and Tidor were among the most gallant of the native troops, who fought in the bloody war against Dhipo Negoro.[2] In other islands the Dutch could tyrannise with facility over a timid and feeble race, but here the valour of the people, stimulated by a spirit of unquenchable pride, roused them to new revolt, and a formidable disaffection threatened the foreign possessors of their soil.[1] It was subdued, however, and the Dutch appear to have consented from that time to incline more to conciliation than to the barbarian rhetoric of the sword. A similar policy in Celebes produced a similar effect, for since the war with Boni in 1825, no conflict had broken out with the people[2], and the inhabitants of the Dutch possessions live in comparative happiness under the Netherlands' flag. In Borneo, however, the incorrigible character of the Malay princes, incurably vicious as their governments are, enforced continual collisions, and in 1827 a sanguinary struggle took place with the sultan of Mataram, who in 1828 submitted to the supremacy of Holland. In that year also, though Java was blazing with war, the cultivation of coffee, indigo, tobacco, cotton, and other products was largely increased, and the culture of cochineal introduced into the European provinces.[3] Tea also was introduced[4], a plant which thrives well there, and is of excellent flavour.[5]

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[1] Capellen. *Moniteur*, i. 166.

[2] Temminck, iii. 127.

Peace in Celebes.

A. D. 1827. Revolt in Borneo.

A. D. 1828.

Agriculture of Java improved.

The final settlement of Banca, which had long been vexed by the turbulence of its chiefs, was in this year effected.[6]

A. D. 1829.

The British settlements during this period occupy little space in the narrative, because they filled, though an useful, not an illustrious part. Singapore flourished on its free trade, growing daily in wealth, population, and importance.[1] In 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the philanthropic and liberal Governor-General of India, visited the Straits settlements, and projected a plan for the reform of their administration. They were made subordinate to Bengal, and their finances were improved by the introduction of economical measures.[2]

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[1] In 1829 a new conspiracy was discovered in the Moluccas. *Voyages dans les Moluques*, 102.

[2] Temminck, iii. 27.

[3] *Moniteur. Chronologie*, i. 85.

[4] Temminck.

[5] Some specimens have been imported into England. The Java tea I have tasted is exceedingly well flavoured.

[6] Epps, *Journ. Ind. Arch.*

Progress of Singapore.

A. D. 1830.

It was long since the peace of the Archipelago had been disturbed by the British arms, unless when directed at irregular intervals against the piratical system. An insignificant war was now occasioned by a change of financial policy at Malacca. Lying a little to the north of that district is Naning, an inland territory about forty miles in length, with an average breadth of ten. Its surface is undulating, now rising in piles of hills covered with jungle, and now sinking into valleys or flats — overgrown with grassy swamps or paddi — a wild, picturesque country, unhealthy at present, except in the neighbourhood of Tabo Town.[2] This small district had been reduced by the Portuguese soon after their conquest of Malacca, had passed from them to the Dutch, and from the Dutch to the English. And a considerable annual payment, with the right of appointing the chief, or confirming him on his accession, were the only recognition of a foreign authority. While this arrangement remained undisturbed tranquillity existed. In 1828, however, when a new plan of administration was established at Malacca, the Panghulu of Naning was required to accede to the

A. D. 1831.

Events in Naning.

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[1] See J. Balestier (*Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 139.) for the agriculture of the Straits settlements.

[2] Wilson, *History of India.*

[3] Newbold, *Malacca Settlements*

revenue regulations of the English province, of which his own was a dependency, to pay as tribute a tenth part of his produce, to accept a pecuniary compensation for the surrender of his claims, to allow a census of the people to be taken, and to submit criminals, charged with serious offences, to the supreme jurisdiction of Malacca.

Military expedition in Naning.

The tithe tribute, though once acknowledged to the Dutch, and the limitation of his power, were resisted by the governor of Naning. Confiding in the attachment of the people, who would follow him in a struggle with his foreign masters, he refused to obey, and declined to visit the British functionaries at the city. He plundered a district within the boundary of Malacca belonging to a British subject, from whom he claimed tribute. He was consequently proclaimed a rebel, and a hundred and fifty Sipahis, under Captain Wyllie, entered his country. On the 16th of August, 1831, they marched to a village near his residence at Tabo, but the people rose, and the detachment was forced to retreat. Malacca even was alarmed. Reinforcements were despatched from Madras, and in 1832 a larger force was marched: this time it was successful. The Panghulu was forced to surrender, and allowed to live in Malacca on a pension, on giving security for good behaviour. Too much blood was undoubtedly spilled in this transaction. All that was obtained by war might, probably, have been obtained by treaty; but when a conflict was resolved upon, it should have been prosecuted on a grander scale.[1] However, the annexation of Naning was politically advantageous to the English, and a social benefit to its own people.[2] A new

A. D. 1832. Success of the expedition.

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[1] Lieut.-Col. J. Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 369.

[2] Wilson, *India*, ix. 331.

system of government was at once established, in place of the wretched Malay rule which had demoralised and impoverished a territory naturally productive, with inhabitants accessible to the higher influences of civilisation.[1] The new plan was partly feudal, partly patriarchal, fifteen chiefs being appointed under a British governor, to administer the domestic affairs of the province.

Progress of the Straits settlements.

Whatever the character of English policy in the Straits it was successful. Malacca, indeed, continued to decline, but because the island settlements prospered so well. In them all was promise for the future; in many of the Dutch possessions all was a poor reflection of the past. In Java, the ancient cities, centres of commerce, had decayed from year to year. The sultan of Bantam, not yet taught that submission only could now preserve him a relic of his former prerogative, engaged anew in insurrectionary movements; and expiated the attempt by being seized, stripped of his titular dignity, and exiled to Surabaya.[2] His state, formerly one of the most important in Java, was now fallen to a level with the smallest residency on the coast.[3] In Madura at the same time, to contrast the treatment of faithful allies with that of an unfortunate rebel, the three princes were confirmed in the honours secured to them for their devoted allegiance to the old company, and appointed to the command of troops under the Netherlands flag. The Panambahan of Sumanap, who had rendered effectual assistance in the Boni war, was rewarded with the title of sultan, and a perpetual remission of his tribute.[4]

Condition of Java.

A. D. 1833. Rumours of war in Europe.

In 1833, the European communities in the Archipelago were excited by rumours of an approaching war between Great Britain and the Netherlands. So far, indeed, did the intelligence appear to be confirmed, that many Dutch vessels crowded into the spacious and commodious harbour of Surabaya, to be out of reach of the English cruizers shortly expected to appear in those seas.[1] Happily, however, better counsels prevailed in Europe. The disputes of the two governments were accommodated by negotiation, and the trade of the further East was uninterrupted. War at that period might have been peculiarly disastrous to the Dutch, engaged as they were in a sanguinary war with the Padris of Sumatra[2]; but especially in checking the increasing fortunes of the British flag at Singapore, where already a population of 21,000 was established.

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[1] Newbold.

[2] Temminck, i. 117.

[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*

[4] Temminck, i. 117. See also ii. 35.

Town of Singapore. A. D. 1834.

The fishing village had disappeared. A handsome town had been erected; the scanty tribe of half-clad barbarians was succeeded by a prosperous and civilised community; and the little flotilla of native barges had given place to a crowd of shipping — English, Dutch, and Spanish, the mighty junks of China, the little rice boats of Rhio, and the Sampans of the Malays.

Free Trade at Rhio.

Conscious that this flourishing settlement derived its prosperity from the freedom of trade, the Dutch endeavoured at Rhio to emulate the liberal policy of the English. They declared it an open port; but their experiment resulted in very equivocal success. Fleet after fleet of native boats passed by under a heavy press of sail, bound for Singapore, which is forty miles distant. There were few merchants there, an expensive establishment, and very little trade: for the memory of the old system remained to stint their commercial negotiations. At Singapore, on the other hand, success attended the projects of the mercantile speculators —

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*.

[2] Temminck, ii. 14.

unless, indeed, when resisted by the jealousy of Holland. In 1834, intelligence arrived that the Chinese colony on the western coast of Borneo desired commercial intercourse with the British factors. It was determined to send an expedition to open it up. The well-informed traveller and able writer, Mr. George Windsor Earl, was placed in command, and he sailed with a freight for the colony lying between Pontiana and Sambas, where the Dutch had establishments. He failed, however, to create the basis of any new trade, not from the disposition of the Chinese, not from a want of resources in the country, not from any inferiority of vigour and capacity in himself, but through the machinations of the Dutch.[1] Chinese in Borneo.

The year 1835 is distinguished in the history of Singapore, as that in which the *Free Press* was established. It is among the ablest and most influential journals in the East, conducted with remarkable vigour, and animated always by the spirit of genuine liberality. It has made, indeed, an European reputation—among all, I mean, who turn their attention to the politics, commerce, or social progress of the British settlements in that remote quarter of the world. A. D. 1835. The "Singapore Free Press."

Singapore and Malacca were now formally opened, under due restrictions, to the American trade. A. D. 1836. American Trade.

In this year a circumstance occurred, which requires a succinct notice of the relations between the British government and the king of Keddah; a flat and fertile country on the Peninsula, famous for its breed of turtle-doves—delicious food for the epicure.[2] When that prince ceded Pinang to us, he represented himself as independent, and as such was treated by the English. The king of Siam, however, afterwards declared that Transactions with Keddah.

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*

[2] Sonnerat, ii. 177

Keddah was his dependency, and to punish its sovereign for many acts of the authority which he had assumed—the cession, among the rest, of Pinang, invaded his territory and drove him from his throne. He fled to our settlement, and took asylum under our flag, which ought clearly, not only to have protected him, but to have been raised in his cause to reinstate him on his throne.[1] The Malay kings of Keddah were not subject to Siam, and the new prince set up was an usurper. Consequently, when in 1836 a Siamese fleet appeared in the straits to invade Keddah, the fugitive king, who made many vain efforts to regain his crown [2], ought to have been assisted against this unprincipled enemy. Instead of this, however, the English referred to their engagements with Siam, as though their duty to the king of Keddah was not equally imperative [3], and, to prevent that prince from asserting his claim, seized him, and forced him to live on a pension at Singapore. (1832.)

Insignificant as these episodes are in the general body of history, they, nevertheless, possesss an importance of their own. One little incident may supply the commentary to a great transaction. They who break faith with others, can scarcely appeal to the principles of national law, when they desire to redress themselves. The English behaved with little honour to the fugitive prince of Keddah:—they could, therefore, with less confidence declare against the delinqúencies of the Dutch. Those delinquencies, however, systematically repeated since the treaty of 1824, involved the interests of the whole commercial body engaged in trade between the British possessions and

Bad faith of the English.

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[1] Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries. Unpublished MS.*

[2] Newbold, *Settlements.*

[3] Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries. Unpublished MS.*

the ports of insular Asia. Continued infractions of the treaty at length attracted notice in Parliament at home. A petition was presented in June 1836, and in August a discussion arose upon the subject. Lord Palmerston avowed his conviction, that the Dutch government had for a long series of years grossly violated a solemn compact, though they were then evincing a disposition to amend their policy. Mr. Hume, however, blamed the ministers for refusing to adopt a more hostile and threatening demeanour, exclaiming that America would long before have made war on Holland for her flagrant abuse of faith.[1]

Forbearance towards the Dutch.

Lord Palmerston's opinion.

Belligerent speech of Mr. Joseph Hume.

Dutch prohibitions.

Among other acts committed by the Dutch was the prohibition of British goods being brought into the native ports on the western coast of Borneo. The nakodahs, or masters of all prahus having such merchandise on board, lost them, and frequently paid a fine, four times the value of their freight.[2] Regulations also were enacted, prohibiting the importation from Singapore of any cotton or woollens of British manufacture at Palembang, Minto, Makassar, or any Dutch outport except through Batavia, or some other Javan port, where they suffered under an *ad valorem* duty of thirty-five per cent.[3] In Holland, indeed, there was an appeal against these charges, or rather a vindication of the measures blamed. The statement however was equally discreditable with the policy it defended, and displayed no justification of the arrogant and illiberal pretensions of the Netherlands government.[4] The diplomatic war, nevertheless, ended in a concession to Holland of the privilege to strain her monopoly to the detriment of British commerce; for though some relaxations of the restrictive laws were for a while obtained, the whole negotiation ended in unfruitful protests, from which little lasting benefit was derived by the commerce of Great Britain.

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[1] *Singapore Chronicle*, Jan. 14th, 1837. See *Hansard*.

[2] Ibid. [3] *Free Press*, Feb. 16th, 1836.

[4] *Appel de la Hollande à la Justice et la Raison de Grande Bretagne. La Haye*, 1836.

A. D. 1837.

To conclude this notice of the historical occurrences in the Archipelago between 1816 and 1838, I may state that the Dutch continued in Sumatra their war against the Padri population, who were not subdued until 1840[1]; and that the Spanish possessions in the Philippines were during that period generally tranquil and comparatively prosperous. The sudden rise of their finances in 1837, indeed, displayed an improvement in the condition of the people, and the system of rule, very creditable to the representatives of Spain in that quarter of the world.[2] The next period in the history is that in which Sir James Brooke plays the most prominent part, and this I propose to introduce after a description of the piratical system so characteristic of the Archipelago. It is a subject long neglected, and imperfectly known; but sufficient accounts are scattered in various depositories, to enable us to offer at least an interesting and useful view.

The Spanish possessions.

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[1] Temminck, ii. 37.

[2] *Calcutta Courier*, Feb. 1. 1837.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PIRATES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

"Piracy is just as common, and as openly pursued, in the Malay seas, as robbery in the deserts of Arabia."—*Edinburgh Review*, xxix. 50.

The piratical system.

To trace in detail the progress of the piratical system in the Archipelago, to illustrate all its characteristics, and to describe the influence it has exercised upon the native races, would occupy more space than the whole of this narrative fills. Ancient, extended, and various in its forms, it affords the materials of a very remarkable history; but I can now attempt no more than a general view. This may serve to exhibit the basis upon which the recent operations have been conducted; for it is only necessary to show the character and influence of the piratical system, to prove that the interests of humanity require its total extirpation.

Its antiquity.

Since the Indian Archipelago was discovered, piracy has been the scourge of all its peaceful and industrious populations,—a corrupting influence over the whole Malayan race.[1] When the early voyager navigated its close seas and narrow channels, where only the rude prahu, or the junk of China, carried on traffic among the islands, fierce and savage marauders made their way from coast to coast, pillaging the hamlets, and carrying

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[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 91.

Inveterate character of the evil.

off their inhabitants as slaves.[1] Now, when the resources, politics, and civilisation of the Archipelago have become objects of European inquiry, the same curse still attends the industry and trade of that wealthy, but long neglected region. In the antiquity of its annals, we find piracy openly carried on by the princes whose descendants now secretly encourage or tolerate it—whether through feebleness or bad faith; for it is certain that few, if any of them, have ever energetically applied their care to its extirpation. In a history of the Malayan empire previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, we learn that before the end of the fifteenth century, the coasts of Malacca were harassed by the freebooters from the Sea of Celebes; and that from the leaders of those marauding bands have sprung many dynasties of Indian kings.[2] The piratical character of many communities in Celebes has long been known[3]; —indeed, among the most barbarous in the Archipelago are the Tobellorais, seated in the Bay of Tolo, and dispersed over the islets of the Molucca group.[4]

Freebooting princes.

Early accounts of piracy.

The Molucca buccaneers.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, these pirates of the Moluccas were celebrated for their depredations.[5] The Malay colonists also, on various shores, already flourished on the accumulated fruits of rapine and murder, while beyond the limits of the Archipelago the head-hunting buccaneers of Formosa offered a parallel to the Dyaks, notorious in a later day.[6] The

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[1] It is just, however, to remember that among the earliest acts of Englishmen in those seas was firing upon a flotilla of canoes, merely because the poor savages haunted the ships and clamoured for barter. Hakluyt, iv. 333.

[2] Tidschrift. Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 159.

[3] Dampier, *Voyages*, i. 456.

[4] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 160.

[5] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 919, 920.

[6] Candidius, *Voyage*. Churchill, i. 406.

Piratical character of the Malays.

Malays, indeed, as a race, are celebrated as piratical. Their treachery was in former times so proverbial, that the owners of European vessels forbade their employment as sailors, lest they should massacre the company and turn freebooters. European vessels of considerable tonnage were, in the early ages of intercourse with the Archipelago, frequently surprised and captured.[1] In other parts of that ocean, where the prodigality of the soil invited the cares of its inhabitants, all cultivation was prevented by the continual ravages of the buccaneering hordes.[2]

Classes of Pirates.

The powerful tribes.

The freebooting communities of the Archipelago, though all included under one general description, belong to several different classes. The haughty and rich marauders, with princes as their chiefs, large islands as their possessions, cities as their places of resort, and whole countries as the objects of their plunder, resemble rather the Algerines of the sixteenth century, than the petty tribes of robbers dwelling close in their neighbourhood. The inclination to plunder and massacre has, among the Arab sheikhs and seids, been fostered as a merit.[3] From the powerful piratical state equipping great fleets for an uninterrupted cruise of years, to ravage coasts, burn towns, and infest the highways of maritime traffic, down to the wretched thief stealing forth at night in a canoe, to take the head of some unguarded fisher, descends in gradation a series of buccaneers—all alike however, lawless, incorrigible, and the enemies of civilisation as well as trade. The map of the Archipelago shows that region to be peculiarly favourable to the adventures of pirates. The clustering islands, lying in the great route between Europe and the remoter

Petty prowlers.

Facilities in the Archipelago for pirates.

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[1] Le Poivre, *Voyages d'un Philosophe*, 67. 78.

[2] Pennant, *View*, iv. 72.

[3] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 94.

shores of Asia, afford innumerable retreats — indented coasts, estuaries, deep creeks, navigable rivers, narrow tortuous channels, with every facility for concealment or escape. With such advantages the Moors would have rendered the whole sea impassable, as indeed many of its passages have been rendered by the Malays.

General description of pirates.

The pirates themselves belong naturally to the more indolent and nomadic classes of the island population — not the agricultural tribes of Java or Sumatra, or the traders of Celebes; but the genuine Malays scattered through the little groups, from the Dingding to the Karrimata, the coast communities of the northern isles, and the subjects of half-bred Arabian chiefs, who bring to this part of the world only the roving and plundering predilections, with little of the chivalry or virtue, of the original desert-dwelling race.[1] These attract into the number of their followers the Malays, as naturally addicted to roam the seas in their prahus, as the Tatars to wander with their flocks and tents. As it is impossible to crib the Bedouin in a village, so is it to restrain the coast-people from fishing, trade, piracy, or some other wandering and uncertain occupation — the most exciting, the most agreeable to them.[2]

Circumstances favourable to piracy.

In the physical character of the region, therefore, and in the moral and social character of its inhabitants[3], we discover circumstances which promoted the piratical system, until it became, at one period, the ruling influence of the Archipelago. Among these has been the multiplication of petty chiefs, without dominions to rule, who have led their followers to collect, not tribute, but booty, from the feebler population.[4] The distribu-

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[1] *Singapore Chronicle*, No. V. — Mr. Crawfurd's, it is said. *Journ. of Ind. Arch.* iv. 45.

[2] Tidschrift, i. ii.

[3] Lacépède, *Ages de la Nature*, i. 241.

[4] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, xxx. 12.

Ancient range of piracy.

tion of its haunts is remarkably extensive. From the most northerly point of Luconia, to the southern shores of Timor; from the Arru group to the Bay of Bengal, it has been discovered, though the introduction of European power has contracted its range within a narrower circle; Magindanao, the Moluccas, the south-eastern isles, Celebes, Borneo, Biliton, Banka, Sumatra, the islands along the coast of Java, with the innumerable groups spread along the Straits of Malacca, and the shores of the Malay Peninsula, have afforded refuge to hordes whose fleets make annual havoc on the native commerce — a terrible scourge, only not fatal to all enterprise and all industry throughout this vast and wealthy Archipelago.[1] Long renowned, they were long permitted to exercise undisturbed, their destructive energies. No law but that of power has reigned among them; and every encouragement — the love of war, the thirst of gain, the desire for authority, the inclination to enjoy life without servile labour — has tempted them in the pursuit of their vocation, as in all times and all parts of the world, we invariably find was true. Honourable in the heroic ages, piracy has ever since been regarded as a flagrant crime — an infringement of the general compact among nations, though the practice, covered under a false name, has frequently been carried on by states aspiring to the dignity of civilisation. However this may have been, certain it is, that the laws of Europe esteem the suppression of piracy as an object honourable for all to pursue, whether we accept the authority of the ancient political moralist[2]; or that of the early Christian Theologian, who urged their punishment and destruction[3]; or that of the Delft-

Law of nations on piracy.

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[1] "Ce terrible fléau," Temminck, ii. 240, 241.

[2] Isocrates, *Danathen*, 460.

[3] St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, i. 5.

land theorist, who laid down that pirates were to be treated rather as beasts than as men, and to be hunted from all parts of the world.[1]

Parallel with European piracy.

The piracy of the Indian Archipelago is a peculiar system, resembling little that of the Western states of Europe, but more that of antiquity. There were ancient peoples, giving themselves up altogether to this vocation.[2] In the isles of the Ionian Sea dwelt communities, dividing their time between tillage, trade, and plunder[3], brigandising one on the other — and islanders above all have been famous for being addicted to this pursuit.[4] The condition of the various states of the Archipelago, the freedom from restraint, the natural facilities of the region, encouraged the growth of the system, which became interwoven, as it were, with the social organisation of this part of Asia.

Lanuns of Magindanao;

their renown;

The most formidable among the pirates of the Archipelago are the Lanuns of Magindanao[5], or the "country around the lagoon," inhabited by the "people of the lake,"[6] — by the Spaniards called a Philippine — though one of their own authors separates it from the group[7], which, indeed, it is by many considered to join[8], though once expressly excluded from the number.[9] The depredations of these islanders have made their name a word of terror to all the neighbouring races.[10] Their vessels are known on every coast, and innumerable anecdotes of their daring and atrocity have been preserved. Familiar to the Spaniards in the Philippine group, under the appellation of Moors they form a distinct nation, dwelling round the shores of the great bay of Illanun, on the southern port of Magindanao — an island of beautiful aspect, with graceful undulating hills, shaded with park-like groves, and alternating with brilliant green savannahs.[1] They have there built a city where their sultan reigns, and in those waters even Europeans have at times been entertained with hospitality and faithfully protected. A hatred of continuous labour, however, and a love of luxury which their whole race evinces[2], render them incorrigibly piratical. The bay is of immense extent, stretching out its arms as peninsulas, and is thickly wooded along its shores with mangroves. These run out, in most instances, six or nine feet into the water, and vessels of light draught may under them find adequate shelter and concealment. Divided from the bay by a narrow strip of swampy earth covered over in this manner, is a spacious lagoon, whence the community has taken its name — the Pirates of the Lake. It is supposed that there a chief, sometimes pretending to independence, acknowleges allegiance to the sultan of Magindanao, who to exonerate himself from complicity in the freebooting transactions of the Lanuns feigns to absolve them from fealty to him.[3] Notoriously, however, the relations of that prince with the piratical tribes of the lagoon, are of a very intimate character; for he has frequently been made, not only the medium of communication with them, but the arbi-

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[1] Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, ii. 20—40.

[2] Huet, *Histoire de Commerce*, xvi.

[3] Azuni, *de la Piraterie*, 5. Hepworth Dixon (*Life of Blake*) gives a graphic picture of the depredations of pirates from Northern Africa.

[4] Thucydides, i. 31.

[5] The natives of Mindanao are described by Dampier as a most hospitable race, i. 358, 359.

[6] Coombe, *History*. Forrest, 173.

[7] Ley, *Recapitulada*, 6.

[8] Dalrymple, *Proofs*, 28.

[9] *Hist. Gén. de l'Asie*, 909.

[10] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 63.

Their lagoon city.

The bay of Illanun.

Political relations of the pirates.

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[1] Dalrymple, *Journ. of Ship "London,"* 5.

[2] Lacépède, i. 318.

[3] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 263.

ter between them and their victims, in transactions of ransom. They stand towards him, indeed, in the relation of feudal chiefs, holding the banks of the great lake, a tract of country lying southwards towards the hills, and all the shores of the bay. Many personages claiming the titles of sultan and rajah, rule tribes in the territory; but they are all piratical.[1]

Economy of the pirate city.

The economy of this pirate haunt is of the most singular description. Throughout the range of the vast bay there have been constructed a number of ingenious machines or tramways of timber, over which, in case of sudden and hot pursuit, a vessel may be hauled across the slip of land into the interior waters. Strong trees of an elastic wood are driven obliquely into the earth, and their upper ends are securely lashed to others of the same species still left to grow. Thus a V-shaped frame is constructed at an angle of 120°. The end is carried into deep water with a gradual inclination, while the other leads towards the launching-place on the lake. Stripped of their bark, these trees are kept slippery, by the constant and spontaneous exudation of a mucilaginous liquid, which renders them still better adapted to the purpose they are designed to serve. A Lanun vessel hotly pressed makes for one of these escapes. The whole line of the bay being watched by sentinels ensconced in little houses amid the foliage of lofty trees, an alarm is given to the population on the lake. They immediately crowd to the point which their fugitive confederates are expected to make for; the bushes are pushed aside; an opening is cleared; and the Spanish or Dutch cruizers, unless accustomed to these incidents, are startled by seeing the chase press stem on, for the land; lift herself by one simul-

Ingenious "escapes."

Mode of flight.

Adroitness of the pirates.

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[1] Forrest, *Voyage*, 174—302.

taneous stroke of all the oars, upon the slippery way; fly through the grass, and disappear amid the foliage which closes behind her. A hundred ropes are, with amazing celerity, attached to her sides; a host of men are in an instant yoked to her; and she is without a pause dragged over the spit of land, and triumphantly launched upon the interior waters.

Their batteries. Should her pursuers venture near the shore, to investigate the secret of this manœuvre, a storm of round and grape shot salutes them from the batteries of heavy brass guns, masked by this dangerous jungle.

Their vessels. The vessels employed by those bold and ingenious marauders in their enterprises of plunder, are formidable, not only to the superior craft of the natives, but to European trade.[1] Generally they are built very sharp, wide in the beam, and more than ninety feet in length — long for the breadth, but broad for the depth of water.[2] A double tier of oars is worked by a hundred rowers — usually slaves, who never fight unless **Slaves.** an extremity of danger presses, when every man is called to action. The fighting-men of the free and **Fighting-men.** dominant class amount to thirty or forty[3], though prahus of the largest size carry from fifty to eighty.[4] **The cabin.** For their use there is a raised deck, above a cabin which occupies about three-fifths of the length and two-thirds of the beam. At the bow it is solidly built out to the whole width, and fortified with hard wooden baulks, capable of resisting a six-pounder shot. Here **Guns.** a very narrow embrasure admits of a gun — varying in size from a six to a large twenty-four pounder, generally of brass. In addition to this, the armament con- **Swivels.** sists of numerous lelahs or swivel pieces, of from one to twenty-four pounds calibre, longer in proportion than other cannon, and bell-mouthed.[1] The smaller sizes are habitually used in native prahus, mounted in solid uprights secured about the bulwarks, and fought by the chiefs themselves. These, immediately on any prospect of battle, attire themselves in scarlet clothes — a colour which distinguishes the Lanun pirates from the honest tribes of the Archipelago. They wear also armour of steel plate or ring chain, or shirts of mail. Personally, they are accoutred with the kriss and spear, in addition generally to a huge two-handed sword. They also carry muskets, and the vessel is supplied for close engagements with an abundance of wooden lances, hardened at the point by fire.[2] When Captain Belcher was attacked by them in 1844, he found on board large stores of arms and ammunition, many swivels, heavy brass guns too ponderous for an English gig to carry, and English muskets with the Tower mark.[3] These warlike munitions are invariably evidences of a piratical character, as well as the tight scarlet clothes, which are only worn by them; for the peaceful traders attire themselves in dull-coloured clothes of native manufacture.[4]

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[1] Belcher, i. 265.

[2] Forrest, 184.

[3] Belcher, i. 265.

[4] Eysinga, *Handbook* 1841, 283.

Costume of the warriors.

Armour.

Weapons.

Signs of piracy.

There is no fixed mast to the prahu; but instead, a pair of sheers capable of being raised or lowered with great rapidity, and bearing an immense mainsail. The vessels are very swift and manœuvred with remarkable skill. They have high stem and stern posts prettily ornamented with what at a distance show like long tufts of white feathers, but in reality are streamers of the bleached palmetto leaf; with small triangular flags, and a bright ensign flying from the mast.

The prahus;

their decorations.

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[1] Belcher, i. 226. 265.

[2] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1828.

[3] Belcher, i. 143.

[4] Ibid. i. 136

Another class of vessels built in this lagoon are the lanongs, the largest in size, but the least formidable. They were formerly launched also in the Bruné river, and from some building establishments in that vicinage. They usually carried two pieces of cannon forward, and some swivels; were from sixty to ninety feet long, with two or three banks of oars. Unlike the more famous prahus of the Lanun, and like the koracoros of the Molucca group, they draw much water, and move slowly, whether propelled by the wind, or by the efforts of the rowers. They have rarely been seen to the south of Borneo, and are little known to mariners. Their general use is to hover about the river mouths in the southern parts of the Philippine group, and protect the residences of those chiefs who favoured their piratical habits.[1] Some of the Lanun boats are very slender—fifty feet long, and no more than a yard in breadth, with wide outriggers lying over the water. In bad weather they throw out a wooden anchor, and veer away a cable of twisted rattans, which keeps their head to the sea. Sometimes, when in extremity, the crew jump overboard and swim, clinging to the outriggers for support, in order to ease the prahu. When their vessel is large she is hidden among rocks, shoals, islands, or in the woods up some creek. Small canoes are then detached to pillage what they can, ashore and afloat, and bring it to the heavier boat, which goes home when laden with slaves and plunder.[2]

Other vessels.

Their use.

Moorings.

Navigation.

Retreats.

The Lanun fleets are under a peculiar constitution; the chief, usually a man of considerable rank, commands the whole forces. Each boat has two captains, and generally from five to fifty free men—his relatives; the rest are slaves, more or less under compulsion to pursue this

Constitution of the pirate fleets.

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[1] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

[2] Forrest, *Voyage*, 302.

Divisions of booty.

mode of life. Captives, guns, money, and the finest description of silks and clothes, belong to the lordly class; the rest may be seized indiscriminately by the crew, who from this licence of pillage become attached to their service.[1] Particular laws govern the fleet upon its cruise, and a regular discipline is maintained. While at their labour, however, the rowers sing, and play on timbrels of brass, which operate, with a pleasing power, what no promise of reward or threat of punishment could enforce; and thus with song and oar the pirate galley moves under the hands of its crew who, led by one melodious voice, tune their strokes to the sound and find their toil relieved. The weariness of the barbarian slave is soothed by however rude a modulation; and so with ditties, resembling in harmony the plaintive Provençal songs, and in character the Celeusma of the ancient sailors. Thus these hordes of freebooters travel through their Archipelago, conspiring, amid the sunny and tranquil waves, enterprises of murder and desolation against the inhabitants of the coasts around.[2]

Laws of the pirates.

Music in the boats.

Pirate songs.

Light galleys.

The Lanuns, in the architecture of their fleets, have passed through several variations. Formerly they employed light galleys, constructed of thin ribs and planks, easy in draught and manœuvred with great facility. The few guns they then used were inefficient, because hung on slings; but the blades of their large well tempered swords were dreaded, even by soldiers from the country of the Cid. They frequently assembled no fewer than 200 of these galleys, and navigated the whole neighbouring ocean in quest of plunder. When pressed by pursuit they either fled into rivers, or grounded their vessels in the creeks, deriding their enemies from the shelter of thickets and jungles. As

Strength of the fleets.

Places of concealment.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 196.

[2] Forrest, *Voyage*, 303.

soon as the danger had withdrawn, they once more collected their flotilla and put to sea.[1]

Pirate tactics. The same tactics are still pursued, though superior power inspires the Lanuns with more fearless audacity. **River scenes.** The trader or ship of war, coming upon the mouth of some beautiful river, with clusters of white rocks forming gates to its approach, may discern a number of prahus drawn up under the trees, and groups of men around them, disguised in humble costume and representing themselves by signs and gestures to be the poor wandering peaceable Biajus, or sea gipsies; but a closer examination may detect among them the glitter of the great Lanun sword, or some other unmistakeable evidence of their vocation, as Sir Edward Belcher noticed in an encampment on Pirate River in Borneo.[2]

The pirate lake. Of the interior economy of the Lanun pirate community, no authentic accounts exist. Slaves, however, who have escaped, declare that their captors have extensive works for building prahus, and are powerfully armed in readiness for any attack. **Villages.** Detached villages are said to be scattered on the shallows of the lake, like those in the vicinity of Bonné, erected on posts from fourteen to twenty feet high — and the people are reckoned at 30,000, besides great numbers of Arafura captives.[3] **Floating dwellings.** Instead, however, of houses built along the shore, or on piles, they dwell for the most part in their old vessels, which are moored in squadrons, flank to flank, ready to convey their wives, families, and treasure, in case of sudden danger, to some distant part of the lagoon. **Life in the lagoon.** The life they lead resembles that of the Tatars in the Tanka boats of China, — an isolated and distinct community, subject only to the rule of their admirals, with whom they proceed to sea in divisions, which occasionally unite and form a fleet of as many as 400 sail.[1] The number of fighting-men among the Lanuns was estimated by Sir Stamford Raffles at least 10,000.[2]

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[1] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 242.

[2] Belcher, ii. 132.

[3] Pennant, *India extra Gangem*, ii. 75.

Number of Lanuns.

Pirate cruizes.

Their extent.

The cruises of these audacious marauders extend through all the seas in the neigbourhood of their island, and last often for several years. They have been known to sail all round New Guinea on the east, through the straits, and along the southern coasts of Java, under the high shores of Sumatra, and even to Rangoon, on the Delta of the Irawaddy, ranging along the Malay peninsula, and periodically troubling the isle of Bintang and neighbouring groups in the sea of Linga, the islands lying between Borneo and Johore — Pulo Anner, Siantan, Bunguran, Ting-Laut, and Tauvella.[3] On their return they spread terror and devastation through the Philippines. Generally the Lanuns are in activity from the 1st of May to the end of November. The rest of the year, while the westerly monsoon is blowing, they make preparations for the next season, whether in their regular retreat within the lagoon, or at the spot where their last equipment took place; for they have stations in various parts of the Archipelago. Many, however, start on their way to the winter haunt in the middle of the east monsoon, especially when they have been fortunate in the collection of booty; but in this case they undertake a new cruise during October and November.[4] Sometimes these irregular expeditions join the fleets of other communities, as the Malukas of Gilolo, and remain absent from their great station more

Seasons for pillage.

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[1] Belcher, i. 267.

[2] Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 253.

[3] Cornet de Groots, *Moniteur*, i. 160.

[4] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

than three years, forming, as it were, floating camps, the prahu of the pirate being to him what his tent is to the predatory Bedouin.[1]

Floating camps.

In the ordinary course of their operations, however, they leave their stationary places of abode about the middle of April, and direct their route along the eastern and western coast of Borneo, towards the shores of the Straits of Banca and Biliton, where they arrive about the middle of May. Their fleet then breaks into little divisions, some steering to conduct their brigandage along the eastern coast of Sumatra as far as Reteh, among the waters of Linga and Bintang and the scattered groups extending thence as far as Cape Romania. Towards the month of June this division usually assembles at Pulo Tingi, where they are habitually successful in capturing many trading boats from Pahang, Tringanu, Cambodia, and Kalambang on the mainland. In September or October, they quit those channels and steer towards their insular stronghold in Mindanao; but find leisure on their way to make plundering descents on the coasts of Siantan, Pulo Laut, and Tamelan. The apparition of their fleet is beheld with dismay by the miserable people, whose light boats and poorly defended villages offer nothing to resist the assaults of those warlike savages.[2]

Plan of an expedition.

Routes.

Terror of the islanders.

Through the Straits of Makassar, however, pass the largest flotillas of the Magindanese buccaneers. They sail towards the end of the westerly monsoon, so as to profit by the northerly winds then prevailing along the whole of the channel between Celebes and Borneo, to reach the southern coast of the former island. They often visit the bay of Makassar; and the little islands

Audacity of the pirates.

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[1] Keppel, i. 195.

[2] Cornet de Groots, *Moniteur*, i. 160.

situated at the depth of its arc, affords them excellent anchorage, and a point whence to extend their observation along the whole of the neighbouring shore. The population here was lately well disposed in their favour, or at least, whether through weakness or from sharing their predilections, made no effort to check their ravages. Arrived as far as the Straits of Salayer, the most southern of the three isles furnish another point favourable to their enterprises of depredation. About this season a great many of their prahus are accustomed to rove in the bay of Boni, frequently stretching towards the south-eastern peninsula of Celebes to the islet of Kambyan, and on to the Bouton group, as far as Pulo Labuan Belenda. As these waters are resorted to by many trading prahus, and the chances of plunder are by no means rare, they are continually visited by the Lanun marauders.[1]

Their formidable character.

Not only are petty fishing-craft and trading-boats attacked: the armed cruisers of Java have frequently been compelled to fly before a squadron of Lanun buccaneers, though in general great caution, if not timidity, is displayed on the approach of a square-rigged vessel; for though able to distinguish a merchantman from a ship of war by the colour of the canvas and the general appointments, they have so often been deceived by disguises that their circumspection has improved from experience. When, however, they find a body of Europeans in boats, away from their ship, or watering on shore, their pride is in the capture or destruction of such a prey. Endeavouring by manœuvres to cut off all escape, they advance in martial attitude, with threatening gestures, shouting, whirling through the evolutions of their war dance, and hurling their spears

Mode of warfare.

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[1] Vosmaer, *Rapport*, 1833.

before them.[1] When sure of their prize, they aggravate their yells, their gesticulations, and their fury, beating gongs to a loud and stirring tune[2], and often in the strength of more than 1000 men.[3] Their fine athletic forms are displayed in magnificent attitudes, as they move with the bearing of warriors to the attack.[4] But when, on the contrary, a force appears in sight too powerful to be overcome, and when there is no chance of plundering safely, they descend for a time from their haughty occupation to the humble and more honest calling of traders and fishers.[5]

Battle sounds.

Their cunning.

It is, however, among the barbarous populations that they appear most truly the savage masters of the sea; they sweep the waters with adroit audacity, move with sails and oars along the coast, and make a descent wherever an unprotected village appears in view. It is sacked and burned, any defenders who resist the attack are killed, the young persons of both sexes are made captives, the old and helpless are murdered, and the spot is left to solitude and desolation.[6] In this way all the unprotected towns and settlements lying in their route experience the cruelty of their arms, for their mode of warfare is barbarous in the extreme. They slaughter the cattle, ravage the plantations, sweep away all the movable property, and with gratuitous cruelty wound and maim the victims of their power. Slaves in hundreds are carried away.[7] Captives, indeed, are the principal objects of pursuit — the most valuable in themselves and the most readily disposed of. When an island is attacked, the women and children, with as many of the young men as are required, or as will not

Horrible character of their visitations.

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[1] Belcher, i. 136.

[2] Marryat, *Borneo*, 48.

[3] Dr. Addams, *Plea in Admiralty Court*, 1848, 1849.

[4] Keppel, i. 194.

[5] Forrest, i. 184.

[6] Belcher, i. 268.

[7] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 243.

die fighting, are ravished away. When the prahu is full, laden with this freight of human misery, it quits that coast to sell them on another. A cargo of slaves captured on the east of Borneo is sold on the west; the victims of the south are readily purchased in the north; and the woolly-haired Ethiops of Papua, who are universally prized, are offered at a high rate to the chieftains and princes all over the Archipelago.[1] Wherever, indeed, a scanty undefended population exists, it becomes the prey of the freebooters. In 1834, a horde of Lanuns swept with a fleet round the coasts of a small island near the Straits of Rhio, and carried off every one of the inhabitants.[2] In June 1845, a Lanun prahu, watering near Menado, was captured, and the pirates, refusing to surrender, were killed in action. Twenty prisoners were found on board and released.[3]

Slave trade.

Anecdote.

Some of the Indian tribes, nevertheless, value their independence and sell it dear. Many a bloody struggle has taken place, ending in the extermination of one of the belligerent forces, though the pirates generally prevail. Formerly, indeed, when the Spaniards themselves were imprudent enough to undertake enterprises in small numbers, they sometimes fell victims to their rashness. An officer, though furnished with a safe conduct by the sultan of Mindanao, was in 1791, murdered by the pirates, who flayed his body and hung the skin upon a banner.[4] Sometimes even now, a Spanish priest is kidnapped for the ransom of a thousand dollars or more, which he is sure to command.[5]

Resistance of the islanders.

European victims.

Kidnapping Spaniards.

The force in which the Lanuns range the Archipelago, is, indeed, overwhelming to the ordinary native

Force of the Lanuns.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 199.

[2] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 313.

[3] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 128.

[4] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 243.

[5] Belcher, i. 268.

settlements. A fleet of eighteen vessels, examined by Sir James Brooke, contained from 500 to 600 men. It had been absent from the Lagoon several years, had cruised among the Moluccas and the islands lying to the eastward, had pillaged the Bay of Boni and other places in Celebes, and passed through the Straits of Makassar. They had lost or worn out many of their own boats, but were continuing the cruise in prizes which they had captured, and fitted up for warlike purposes. They had attacked one of the Tambelan isles, where the people had repulsed them, and were preparing for a descent on Sirhassan, one of the southern Natunas. The huge boats of the Bugis are too heavy to be swift, but carry many guns, swivels, and muskets. Each is divided into three compartments, and fortified by strong planks, one behind the bow, one in the middle, and one near the stern. Women and children are crammed below, where the miserable prisoners are confined during action. In attacking a vessel at sea their usual plan is to board her, and overwhelm the crew by their numbers. Merchantmen, with the guns badly fought, fare ill; but a steady fire of grape and canister usually daunts the assailants midway in their approach. Such attempts are never made except during calms, for in a breeze they will not venture to engage a square-rigged vessel, or even to sail far from the shore while there is one in view.[1]

Account of a voyage.

Bugis Boats.

Plans of attack.

Nevertheless the daring of the Lanuns is such as to appear incredible in a part of the world where piracy is only known by tradition. They have ventured into the very Bay of Manilla, as far as Cavité, and captured the fishing-boats there. Once the Spanish gun-boats, commanded by an Englishman, came out to meet them in

Anecdote.

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[1] Keppel, i. 396.

these waters, and after a desperate action retired completely crippled, only the commander in fact — himself severely wounded — being left to serve a gun. Villages in the bays along the shore are very much exposed to their attacks, and less than most others, are able to defend themselves; for the Spaniards, employing the barbarous expedient of preventing their subjects from rising, by depriving them of all the means of action, forbade them the use of firearms.[1]

Attacks on coast villages.

Choice of plunder.

Nor do the Lanuns fight for vulgar plunder. They reject, but invariably destroy, all rough and common merchandise, as well as articles which cannot easily be disposed of; preferring for themselves gold, silver, arms, and ammunition, with such costly and portable commodities as these, of which they levy a regular tribute on the people of that group. Indeed, from the first establishment of the Spaniards in the Philippines, they were harassed by the agents of this destructive system, suffering, with scarcely a year's remission, from the attacks of the pirates, whose haunts in the Bay of Illanun were notorious as early as 1629. Intelligence of disasters, of murder, of pillage, of fire, and violation continually arrived at Manilla, and the depredators were from time to time chastised; but the intermittent efforts of the settlers were ineffectual to oppose the systematic, pervading influence of piracy.[2] The Spaniards, in 1639, established a fortified post at Samboangan, on the south-western coast of Mindanao, to impose a permanent restraint on the enemies of their commerce. It exists still, but its authority was never formidable to the buccaneers. Expeditions also were from time to time despatched to various ports in the island, and some piratical haunts were destroyed; but the breeding nest

Ravages in the Philippines.

Conflicts with the pirates. Fort at Samboangan.

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[1] Forrest, *Voyage*, 302.

[2] *Chinese Repository*, vii. 588.

was left to propagate its swarms over the Archipelago.[1] The Mindanese continued to be, with the people of Basilan and Jolo, the bane and terror of the region. Military posts were established at intervals along their shores; but were insulted and defied. Instead of shrinking from a struggle with the strength of civilisation, the pirates attacked its stronghold, and 5000 of them laid siege to Samboangan. They were, it is true, repulsed, and suffered much loss from the Spaniards, as between 1731 and 1734, when numbers of their forts, villages, and prahus were destroyed by the sudden but evanescent zeal of their enemies.[2]

Long struggle with the buccaneers.

The native princes of Mindanao always exhibited themselves in one character — with duplicity equal to their hardihood. They were the avowed repudiators but the actual promoters of the piratical system. Disowning the flagitious conduct of their people, they encouraged them secretly, and divided the spoil they acquired. "Sooner," said a Jesuit missionary, "will a hawk release the prey from his talons, than they put an end to their piracies."[3] Lulled often by their professions couched in specious phrases, the Europeans allowed themselves to wait for the fulfilment of a promise, while it was continually broken and falsified before their eyes. Decrees were issued; a few gun-boats patrolled the channels of the group; the settlements were fortified by entrenchments, walls, and palisades, with small castles of wood or stone; but even these were frequently destroyed and ravaged.[4] To this day the Spaniards have at Samboangan a considerable force of armed vessels, commanded by expert officers, who are

Princes of Mindanao.

Jesuit account of them.

Their treachery.

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[1] *Chinese Repository*, vii. 529.

[2] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 233.

[3] Angelos, *Letter*, 24th Sept. 1748.

[4] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 230.

stimulated to zeal by rewards. Nevertheless, they rarely succeed in bringing the Lanuns to an engagement, unless under circumstances most favourable to themselves. Skilled in the pursuit of their hereditary calling, they are as ready in flight as in attack; they are bold, and, in the safe seclusion of their lake, are concealed from all pursuit. Sometimes, when the mouth of their bay is too closely watched to admit of their putting to sea, they drag their prahus one by one across the neck of the peninsula, launch them from the north-eastern coast, and while the Spanish force is deceived by an appearance of preparation at the usual place of embarkment, make away on their cruise, and spread on all sides the fame and terror of their lawless arms.[1]

Their skill.

Other Lanun communities.

Under the appellation of Lanuns are included, not only the pirates of Magindanao, but communities of the same race and the same profession in Sulu and some places on the island of Borneo, as Tuwassa, Tumbassu, and Mangala. They equipped, it was thought, in 1818, 100 prahus at their great establishment on the Lagoon and in Sulu, fifty at Tuwassa, twenty at Tumbassu, and twenty at Mangala. Five or six also went regularly from Sumroko in the territories of Bruné, near Tanjong Datu; so that nearly 200 Lanun vessels, armed solely for piratical purposes, were then preying on the commerce and industry of the Archipelago; and it is impossible not to believe that the subsistence, the savings, the peace, and happiness of thousands were destroyed, and blood in terrible profusion shed, to support this spoliating system.[2] When the Dutch, to protect the Moluccas, stationed gun-boats at Ternate, they were scarcely noticed by the Lanun marauders, being neither

Their great fleets.

Their courage.

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[1] Belcher, i. 268.

[2] Comet de Groots, *Moniteur*, i. 232.

powerful nor swift enough to cope with them.[1] Not only stout merchantmen, but government cruisers belonging to that nation, have been captured by these formidable rovers.[2]

Battles with women.

While the warriors are absent, the women and children remain in charge of the villages; and not unfrequently the defence of their haunts, by an Amazonian garrison, has been fierce and successful.[3] In Mindanao, however, the natural difficulty of approach, with the fame of its powerful defences, has hitherto rendered the pirate city impregnable; and the whole of the fighting men are seldom away at one time. At particular seasons the place is crowded with its possessors. In their retreat on the lake, they pass their hours, partly in superintending the equipage of new fleets, partly in the Sybaritic enjoyment of their season's gains,—debauch, opium-smoking, cock-fighting, and festivals of barbarian character. War dances they delight in; and, whirling through its evolutions, the Lanun appears no poor image of manly grace. He is dressed in a fine helmet, with plumes from the bird of paradise, and decorated with gold belts and silk sashes of variegated dye. His sword is adorned with streamers of red cloth, his long upright shield jingles a number of brazen rings; and so accoutred he rages in the excitement of the performance so wildly as often to fall exhausted at the end.[4] At other times, however, the demeanour of the Lanun, though polite, is grave, with an affectation of priestly composure.[5]

Security of their Lagoon.

Seasons of rest.

Pirate orgies.

War dance.

The pirate's person.

The Lanuns incorrigible.

Such are the Lanuns of Magindanao, described in the Dutch reports as the people inhabiting the Lagoon,

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[1] Belcher, i. 145.

[2] Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 256.

[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 314.

[4] Keppel, ii. 199.

[5] Ibid. i. 84.

Sulu, and the southern coast of Borneo, and probably the only pirates upon whom a more liberal commercial system would not exercise a humanising influence. To subdue them, nothing but the force of arms can prove effectual.[1] In this category, a more familiar acquaintance with the system has placed many other freebooting communities.

Pirates of Borica.

Besides the tribes located in Borneo and Sulu, there was formerly a settlement of them in Borica, in the heart of the Philippines[2], which they held for several years. The Spaniards long endeavoured to dislodge them, but without success, for their island was surrounded with reefs and shoals which made it dangerous of approach.[3] Another settlement of the *Moros*, or Moors, probably so called by the Spaniards from their professing the same religion with the former invaders of Granada, was in Mindoro, a Philippine island. Few years have passed since it was a colony of pirates. About the middle of the last century, a horde of Lanuns descended on its coasts, slaughtering or enslaving the aborigines; building villages on the rivers, bays, and creeks, and flourishing on the spoil of the population. Traces still remain to show that the soil was once cultured, and that its tenants were prosperous. More than twenty species of rice were grown in the fields; some so soft and white and delicately flavoured as to be in repute all over the region. All rice, when winnowing, exhales a pleasant odour; but the fragrance of this kind is like the smell of new pure bread. So richly tilled, indeed, was Mindoro, as to be called the Granary of the Islands, —vegetation abounding all over its surface, wealth profuse among its inhabitants, and a dense population oc-

Account of Mindoro.

Its former prosperity.

Its rich cultivation.

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[1] Tobias, *Rapport*, 1822. *Moniteur*, i. 232.

[2] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 230.

[3] Forrest, *Voyage*, 302.

cupying its fertile valleys and plains. But the living beauty and abounding capabilities of this unhappy island now waste themselves in neglect, decay, and desolation. No living thing is to be seen near the coast except swarms of bees, and once a year a few savages come to collect the honey. The ruins of a handsome church remain, but who formed its congregation is unknown. The Lanun pirates, in their bloody and destructive invasion, swept before them every work of industry, leaving only an occasional ruin as the memorial of their fury. They still live who remember the horrors of the invasion; how a swarm of savages landed, settled along the coast, hunted down the people, drove them from spot to spot, and cut them to pieces, until a poor remnant alone remained, to escape into the solitudes of the interior. There they still wander, five or six thousand in number, a tribe of degenerate barbarians. Their country is extensive, rich in natural productions, near Manilla, and close to the populous and industrious island of Panay. Yet it is a desert; and the Spanish writers[1] ascribe this to the incursion of the Lanun pirates, who prevent the cultivation of the islands, many districts of which are thus rendered unhealthy.

Its actual desolation.

Lanun invasion.

Extermination of its people.

Curse of piracy.

Year after year the Spaniards contest the coasts of Mindoro against the "Moors," but year after year the piratical inroads are invariably renewed. The island affords them many commodious places of shelter for their lighter prahus, in groups of uninhabited islets on the north and west. They furl their mat sails, pay out five or six fathoms of cable to prevent their boats being dashed against the rocks, and then sleep amid a furious commotion of the waves, as calmly as though the

Retreats of the Moros.

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[1] *Diario de Manila*, August and September, 1848.

foundations of a continent supported them. The inhabitants are quite unable to cultivate any land near the coast, from the fear of these marauders; so that Mindoro, one of the most rich and beautiful islands in the Archipelago, is made a wilderness by piracy.[1]

Lanun settlements in Borneo.

In Borneo, the Lanun settlements have been established principally on the north-east coast. The recent aspect of the piratical system there was no less formidable than in the early days of maritime adventure. Long immunity in the perpetration of outrage enabled the Lanun freebooters to establish themselves in secluded strongholds, where they enjoyed not only comforts, but abundance, on the fruits of piracy, to which, indeed, their own industry, or that of their slaves, contributed in seasons unfavourable to marauding enterprise. The Malay princes of Borneo were so many magnates of the scattered pirate commonwealth. Thirty-four years ago, the sultan of Matauran equipped habitually and supported three large buccaneering prahus, from ten to twelve tons burden each, which, after a cruise along the western coast of Celebes during the westerly monsoon, were accustomed to make three enterprises along the waters of Java. They left, like their accomplices of Biliton and Karimata, in the month of June, and pillaged on their way home, whenever an opportunity occurred.[2]

Secluded strongholds.

Pirate industry.

Freebooting sultans.

Cruises to Java.

Kottaringin.

Kottaringin is famous as another old nest of piracy. The chiefs of the place declared, when a Dutch commissioner visited them in 1824, that some months previously a number of pirates, under the command of a renowned leader, came to demand an asylum of their prince. He yielded what it would have been futile to refuse, because they came in force enough to extort from his fear all that they could solicit from his hospitality. They had with them thirty vessels, a hundred women, and fifty children,—which exhibits in an interesting manner the foundation of a pirate colony. With their light and swift prahus they appeared to be in little dread of European ships of war. An air of uncompromising audacity was displayed in all their behaviour. Could they have been chased from their river retreat to the open sea, the cruisers would infallibly have destroyed their flotilla; but the savage is a skilful tactician, and the native prince, no doubt, pretended far more anger than he felt at the arrival of this tribe of plunderers within his dominion. Pirates who hold this kind of intercourse with the princes of Borneo, cede them a part of the booty they have acquired, or sell them at an advantageous rate the prisoners they have captured. The prahus of Kottaringin were generally armed with one heavy gun, and manœuvred by a skilful crew.

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[1] *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 756—766.

[2] Muntinghé, *Rapport*, 1818.

A pirate colony.

Intercourse with the Bornean princes.

Malludu Bay, on the east coast of Borneo, was lately a great haunt of pirates. The Lanuns of this and other settlements in the islands are distinct from the Sherrifs of mixed Arabian blood, who, occupying the territory of some Malay state, form a rendezvous for pirates, and markets for the roving fleets; and though occasionally equipping their own followers to an enterprise of the kind, more frequently gain a revenue by advancing arms, food, and ammunition, to be paid for, with exorbitant usury, in slaves.[1] The Lanuns engage more directly in their vocation. The rajah Muda of Tawarrun, on the northern coast, was in 1837 chief of a community living in friendly intercourse with Bruné,

Malludu Bay.

History of the community.

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[1] Brooke, *Memoir.* Keppel, ii. 191.

whose people he never molested. He served as pilot in that year to the "Himaley," an American brig, and boasted that he had recently captured ninety Castillians, or Spanish Philippine subjects, whom he had sold in the capital city of Borneo Proper.[1]

Tuluk Serban, a bay inside of Tanjong Datu, and opposite the turtle-breeding island of Talang-Talang, is a station occupied during the south-west monsoon by pirates from Magindanao, as well as from Sulu. There they anchor the great fleets, while small boats are dispatched to reconnoitre for a sail; and when one considered safe to attack is discovered, they send a force to capture it. If coming from a distance, her cargo was formerly sent to the Sarawak or Sadong rivers, where the chiefs plundered those pirates to whom they had made advances of money. Thus the whole trade of the coast was destroyed.[2] The chief of Tawarrun, as well as of this place, lately retained a piratical character, going to other rivers to superintend the building of war prahus. His pursuits were, indeed, spoken of by the people without disguise[3],—as identical with those of the former rajahs, catching the Dyaks whenever he could, and selling them as slaves.[4] Nor were the ravages and depredations of Tawarrun confined to the native trade.

Devastation of the coast.

Tawarrun.

Tampassuk.

At Tampassuk was, until very recently, a mixed community of Lanuns and Biajus, located a few miles up a small river, not formidable in numbers but making incursions into the Spanish territory, and up to a late period finding a market for their plunder at Bruné. They sometimes engaged themselves in a body to the half-bred Arab ruler at Malludu Bay — where an ancient Malay state had been seized by these lawless

Mercenary pirates.

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[1] *Chinese Repository*, vii. 122.

[2] Keppel, i. 84.

[3] Ibid. i. 85.

[4] Hunt, *Sketch of Borneo.*

adventurers — having no pretension to the land, and only enforcing authority through the terror of his arms. He had about 2000 men; and, not many years since, captured and bartered into slavery a boat's crew of about twenty men of the "Sultana," a merchant ship, which had been burned in the Palawan passage. Within a few years, also, he pillaged and fired an European vessel, stranded near the Mangai isles, and threatened to attack Bruné, when the sovereign of that state consented to a British alliance for the repression of buccaneers. He sold Bornean slaves for 100 rupees each to Bornean chiefs, who resold them to their relatives for 200. Arrogating the rights of a prince, defying every authority, denying every principle, he made himself the fear and curse of the island.[1] At Malludu Bay he entrenched himself beyond a sudden bend in the river, erecting a number of forts on a tongue of land commanding the stream, throwing across it a floating battery, and a boom composed of two huge trees, each supporting a chain cable equal to ten or twelve inches, firmly bolted and secured to two upright living trees on either bank. A cut in the right bank allowed the entrance of a canoe, but was impassable to European boats. All the guns were laid for this boom, while stockades surrounded the town.[2] Elsewhere, travellers have seen on the waters of a reach a long way from the coast, Lanun boats of heavy burden, though how they were brought up was a mystery — many of the water-passages being known only to the pirates themselves.[3]

Career of a chief.

Defences of the pirate haunt.

Booms.

An instance of the destructive influence of this system was displayed to recent travellers at Ambong. The ter-

Fate of Ambong.

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[1] Brooke. Keppel, ii. 195.

[2] Talbot, *Dispatch to Cochrane*, Aug. 2. 1845.

[3] Adams, in Belcher, ii. 503

ritory eastward of the pirate community at Malludu Bay contained, in 1844, a beautiful town. It sat in the extreme depth of a valley, or *cul-de-sac* of hills, which rose with smooth surfaces around, dotted with a few clustering groves, and with their living verdure refreshed from copious streams. A graceful bay brought its waters to the bosom of the valley, and the town displayed an assemblage of picturesque dwellings, in harmony with the natural attractions of the scene. A brisk traffic employed its people; many villages displayed glimpses of their simplicity and peace through the foliage of banana groves. A short distance from Ambong, however, was the piratical river of Tampassuk, where the Lanuns had settled. When Sir Edward Belcher passed up that coast, he discerned on the shore groups of people, evidently not the harmless gipsies of the sea; for the glittering barrels of muskets, with the blades of swords and spears, and shields flashing their polished discs, amid scarlet costumes, discovered their freebooting character. There were about 200 of them, living in seven or eight wooden forts on a sandy tongue of land — some wearing shirts of mail, and pieces of quaint armour, in which they paraded ostentatiously along the beach.

Its former beauty.

Pirate settlement.

The inhabitants of Ambong then complained of their position with regard to these pirates — especially the Malludu chief, whose extortions spread from his stronghold to Bruné. He had even forced them to send a prahu to join his fleet of 200 sail, then starting to levy tribute along the coasts of Palawan.[1] In 1846, the able seaman and gallant officer, Captain Rodney Mundy, visited Ambong; the town was to be remembered only by its ruins. A chief came down from a fortified vil-

Ambong in ruins.

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[1] Belcher, i. 194.

lage newly-built among the hills, and related that the Lanuns had sworn vengeance on his people for communicating with the English, had attacked them several times, and at length, coming with a powerful flotilla, had sacked and destroyed all the habitations, driven their tenants into the jungle, and declared that so should every community suffer which traded with the white men.[1] Abai, also, a town and harbour forty miles from the northern point of Borneo, and once a great resort of traders, has dwindled to a miserable hamlet, under the attacks of the Lanun pirates.[2]

Destruction of industry.

These Lanun marauders, whose vocation was to obliterate from amid the varied and attractive scenery of the Bornean coasts all traces of human happiness, ingenuity, or industry, showed in themselves, nevertheless, an appreciation, not only of the comforts, but of the luxuries, and even of the poetical elegances of life. Beyond a line of protecting marshes, the freebooters of Pandassan dwelt in a fertile plain, with detached houses and gardens; fowls, goats, and pigs abounded; sugar canes, banana, and Indian corn flourished in luxuriance; and herds of cattle, driven off at the approach of an enemy, browsed on the pastures. When the piratical town of Tampassuk was destroyed, every fancy was charmed by its position and adornments; and its chiefs on horseback moved to and fro on the skirts of the jungle, brandishing their spears, and shaking the savage trappings of their martial pomp, while their stately dwellings burned, and their retreat was turned into a wilderness and a solitude.[3]

Picturesque pirate retreat at Pandassan.

The pirates of Tampassuk.

Piracy in Bruné.

Bruné, itself, the capital of Borneo Proper, was long and lately notorious as a refuge of piracy. The sultan, perhaps, was never literally a buccaneer himself; but the chiefs who followed that vocation, bribed him by a tribute to assist them.[1] In 1837, piracy was no longer actually carried on there by the real subjects of the state[2]; but its port was open to the flotillas laden with plunder from all neighbouring shores and seas, which disposed of their cargoes there, and supplied themselves with warlike stores and provisions. A few years previously, the Bruné people themselves visited the Philippines on a marauding enterprise[3]; while formerly ships richly freighted — and not fishing-boats only, or packs of native slaves — were openly sold within view of the sultan's palace.[4]

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[1] Mundy, ii. 188.

[2] Earl, *Trading Ports of the Archipelago. Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 240.

[3] Mundy, ii. 193—195.

Traffic with buccaneers.

Other Bornean pirates.

Sambas and Succadana are celebrated as ancient piratical stations. To repress this system, the Dutch made many ineffectual attempts. In 1819, the sultan of Pontianah agreed that they should maintain, on the coast of Borneo, a flotilla of small vessels to protect and secure the general trade; promising, besides, to use all his influence towards eradicating the evil. In the same year a treaty was concluded with the sultan of Sambas, by which it was stipulated that all trading boats from that kingdom should be furnished with passes from the Dutch, whenever they traded on the high seas, or in foreign ports. There was, indeed, strict necessity for measures of a repressive tendency. The schooner "Lucifer" was in May of that year attacked near the "Isles of Little Trees," twenty leagues from Batavia, by three Bornean prahus from Kottaringin, while four others lay at a distance, ready to come up if their aid was required. The ship was closely pressed, the assailants

Treaties to repress them.

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[1] *Chinese Repository*, vii. 123.

[2] Harris, i. 787.

[3] Ibid. vii. 187, 188.

[4] Pennant, *India extra Gangem*, ii. 72.

exclaiming, that neither they, nor their master the sultan, feared the Company's arms; and the "Antelope" only escaped with the favour of a strong wind.[1]

The repression of the piratical system was made the subject of a special clause in the convention signed in June, 1823, with the sultan of Matam, and the Panambahan of Simpang, on the western coast.[2] A military establishment at Succadana, or on the Karimatas, was recommended; but the profit, it was said, would not cover the expense. The population was so thinly scattered, or poor, and naturally so indolent, that little could be expected from the passing generation. Nevertheless, a settlement was shortly afterwards made. It was not without reason that the sultan of Matam was bound by a treaty to abstain from piracy. He was suspected, on fair evidence, of acting in guilty complicity with the marauders who captured the ship "General Koch," and murdered her master.[3] It was to root up this system that the Dutch ostensibly founded their establishment on the western coasts of Borneo. The princes of that island, it was known, participated in all the commercial interests of their subjects; and wherever, as at Sambas, the people were inclined to piratical pursuits, their sultan obviously encouraged them. Vessels were built for the ports, expressly for adventures of this kind; and at Pontianah, an aged chief with the sovereign, were, thirty years ago, confessed pirates, though they abandoned that occupation, and became the principal merchants of the place.[4]

The Karimata isles.

Sambas pirates.

The policy of the Netherlands' government in Borneo was, however, as much directed to extend her political influence, as to promote the general security of trade.

Dutch policy.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 198.

[2] Tobias, *Rapport Générale*, 1823.

[3] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 202.

[4] Muntinghé, *Rapport*, 1821.

Means of repression.

It was proposed at the same period to contract alliances with a number of the petty chiefs to the north of Sambas, which then still remained in savage independence, — Sarawak, Kaluku, Moka, Serebas, and Palo; while to the southward were pointed out the ancient state of Succadana, Matam, and the isles of Manhass, Karimata, Panumbangano, and Seratoe. It was proposed to nominate a governor for the coast of Borneo, to hold authority over the residences at Pontianah, Sambas, and Mampawa, to confide to him the care of selecting natives for the collection of birds' nests along the shores and in the neighbouring isles, and the fishery of keren, agar-agar, and trepang, in preference to the people of Biliton, Linga, Rhio, Seratoe, and Karimata; and thus to substitute for piracy an honest and profitable means of life.[1]

Measures were at once taken to reduce from piracy the people of Sambas and other states, and to engage them in the legitimate pursuits of industry; for it was declared in all the Dutch reports that the extension of commerce would serve, infinitely more than the scourge of arms, to diminish the ravages of the freebooting system. Since the decline of European trade in those seas, the evil had largely increased.[2] At Matam, in Succadana, there were in 1818 seven or eight large war prahus, built for piracy, and another squadron of similar strength at Karimata; but the people of those isles, it was said, were robbers from necessity. It was only necessary to offer them a better mode of life to withdraw their energies from this vile pursuit — a theory adopted by a distinguished geographer with reference to the extirpation of the slave-trade in Western Africa.[3] The general sum of the

Robbers from necessity.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 232.

[2] Tobias, *Rapport*, 1822.

[3] Macqueen, *Geographical Survey*.

piracies, indeed, committed by the Malay population of Borneo, have been ascribed to poverty, because it was not the only or habitual occupation of many who followed it. Indolence among themselves, tyranny in their rulers, and barbarism among both, may be added as reasons; but this only proves that one evil springs from another, for if it be accepted as a palliation of the pirates' crime, all human law is dispersed in clouds of metaphysical folly. The idle and turbulent, when their own resources failed, made free quarters on the industry of the more peaceful tribes; and humanity can never regret the blood which was shed in defence of commerce, tranquillity, and the general welfare of civilisation.[1]

Theories of crime.

Flattering themselves that all the other pirate communities would speedily yield to the humanising influences of trade, the Dutch, discovered, nevertheless, that with the Lanuns only gunpowder and steel could prevail.[2] The Captain of the English ship, *Sea Flower*, met, in 1818, with an adventure similar to that encountered by the *Dolphin* in 1851. One of the Lanun chiefs having sojourned eight days on board the vessel, eat all the while at the Captain's table, slept in his cabin, and then attempted with a powerful gang of confederates to make a prize of the whole. He indeed, with a dozen of his men was killed; but the Europeans, on the other hand, lost four of their number, besides many wounded. The *Sea Flower* mounted sixteen guns with sixty men, nearly all of whom were whites, indeed, throughout the progress of Dutch relations with the princes of Borneo, evidence continually revealed itself, that Europeans were the frequent victims of the piratical system. The very chiefs who pretended

The Lanuns incapable of reclamation.

Anecdote.

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport*, 1818.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 232.

to co-operate for the repression of these outrages, perpetrated or encouraged them.

Anecdote.

In 1827, the sultan of Matam made an armed descent on the island of Karimata, to capture a wreck which had lately been stranded there. He murdered the commander, and carried away the Dutch flag. But the punishment of his offence was speedy; a frigate was sent to dethrone him, and Rajah Akil, a chief who had frequently distinguished himself as an auxiliary in the crusade against the pirates was elevated to the sultanate of Succadana.[1] Thus was destroyed a great haunt, which had for many years harassed and obstructed the commerce of the neighbouring seas. The new prince remained faithful to his engagements — from gratitude, let us suppose, as well as policy.

Anecdotes.

Instances of piratical outrages perpetrated on the coasts of Borneo, could be multiplied into a catalogue; but the detail would be monotonous, and serve no valuable purpose. One or two incidents are sufficient to illustrate the character of the influence exerted on trade, industry, and civilisation. In 1788, the ship *May* of Calcutta, 450 tons burden, was cut off at Bruné. Invited up to the town her captain, three other officers, and ten Europeans were murdered; the lascars made slaves, the cargo plundered, and the vessel burnt. In 1803, the *Susanna* from the same port was cut off at Pontianah, by the Sambas and Bruné pirates; the Europeans were all massacred, and the ship was taken. In 1769, the Sambas people murdered Captain Saddler and a boat's crew off Mampawa, for the sake of some gold dust they possessed, but failed in capturing the vessel. Mr. Hopkins and the crew of the *Commerce* were, in 1806, murdered by the Bruné pirates in conjunction with those of Sambas. In 1810, Captain Ross was cut off — in 1811, Captain Graves[1], by the people of Passir, while at the same time a Chinese junk with a valuable cargo was captured on the bar of the Pontianah river.[2] The traders of the Celestial empire, indeed, have frequently fallen victims to the piratical hordes of Borneo, as well as those of the Lanun Lake[3], and the Balanini.[3]

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 240.

Chinese attacked by pirates.

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[1] Hunt, *Sketch of Borneo.*

[2] Raffles, *Memoirs*, 47.

[3] Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Ar.* iii. 252.

CHAPTER VII.

The Balanini pirates; THE Balanini rank third in the scale of pirates in the Indian Archipelago — with those of the Sulu group, where the Lanuns also have settled in considerable numbers.[1] On the island of Balanini or Bangene the pirates enjoyed long a security almost equal to that of their secluded haunt on the Mindanese lagoon. Their their islands; stronghold is unassailable by the ordinary means. Around it lie coral reefs, thickly sown, with no anchorage near defences. them, and the island itself has a lagoon in the centre. The entrance is narrow, and is so fortified by stakes, that only one vessel can enter at a time. To do this she must keep her keel in the very centre, which only the pirates from practice are expert enough to do. The Spanish cruizers, therefore, are unable to pass; and doubly to insure this, more than a hundred guns are laid for the only open way. It is supposed that about May or June is the season when the Balanini quit their reef-bound haunt among the waves, to join their allies in great cruises, leaving the old, the crippled, and the Anecdote. women to defend their homes. On one of these occasions two Spanish *feluccas* by an accidental fortune found the passage and entered the lagoon. Once within it, however, they were possessed by a sudden panic, and retired without firing a shot.

Political relations of the Balanini. The Balanini are considered to be under the jurisdiction, to some degree, of the Mindanese in their Lake capital. They had many other haunts in the Sulu Archipelago,

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[1] See MacMicking, *Recollections of the Philippines*, 247.

Pirate leagues.

especially at Malaya and other ports in the isle of Basilan, whence they sent their flotillas to pillage the Spanish Philippine settlements. They held intercourse with the old piratical states of Borneo — Tambassan, Malludu, Tampassuk, Bruné, the isle of Balaguey and Balabac, and all the coasts as far south as Banjarmassin. Strong family ties connected them; and though feuds occasionally arose, a common cause united all again, and one chief led great fleets to sea. Some leaving their war boats at the Natunas or Anambas, traded in smaller prahus to Singapore.[1]

Sulu.

Balanini fleets;

their vessels.

The sultan of Sulu[2] was long suspected of complicity in the proceedings of the Balanini; and undoubtedly tolerated them and profited by their results. It is said that originally it was to revenge some acts of the Spaniards, that he declared his ports open to all piratical adventurers[3]; and the depredations of those pirates were actually most injurious to the Spanish factors.[4] The Balanini, properly so called, now inhabit a small cluster of islands off the N. E. coast of Borneo, and equip annually considerable fleets to capture trading vessels bound to Singapore or the Straits, and after pillaging them, reduce their crews to slavery — to be crowded for months in the bottom of the pirate vessels — in which the horrors of the middle passage are exceeded.[5] Marundum was formerly one of their favourite places of rendezvous. Their prahus are built like those of the Lanuns, with strong bulwarks or barricades, grape-shot proof across the forepart, with ports for working the guns. Europeans employ round shot, to cut these defences away

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[1] Belcher, i. 270.

[2] The Sulus are reputed to be a vicious race. Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 62.

[3] Pennant, ii. 83.

[4] Sonnerat, *Voyage to Spice Isles*, 34.

[5] Keppel, ii. 4.

Armament. before the musketry can tell. Each boat has from fifty to sixty men, the largest a hundred; and heroes like those of Norse and Scandinia, in physical beauty and development, in courage and demeanour, are found among them.[1] Their origin. Sometimes their origin has been referred to the Biaju, or sea-gipsy race; but it is in reality unknown. They never seem to have been actually subjects of the king of Sulu, though encouraged by the rajahs there, with a convenient market for their plunder. Smaller boats. To each of their large prahus a little sampan is attached as a tender — capable of carrying on emergency, from ten to fifteen men. Swivels. The Balanini seldom use heavy guns, such as those which the Lanuns of the Lake employ; but instead of these, brass pieces, carrying balls of from one to three pounds; Other weapons. besides swords, spears, and long poles armed with barbed iron heads, to grapple with an enemy during close engagement.

The small swift boats which accompany the more ponderous craft, enable the pirates to capture any little prahu, which breaks the horizon as they rove along, searching for victims. Rowing boats. One or two men, disguised as fishers or traders, sit at the oars, while the others crouch at the bottom, so that many vessels are surprised in broad day light — at the mouths of creeks and streams. Sometimes the dress of Chinamen is assumed, and large numbers of that nation are carried of from the Pontianah and Sambas rivers. Cruises of the Balanini. The cruising grounds of Balanini are very extensive—the whole circuit of Borneo, as far as the south of Celebes on one hand, and on the other Tringanu, Kalantan, and Patani on the Malay peninsula. Annually they visit Gilolo, the Spice Islands, and the savage coasts of New Guinea.[2] Account of a cruise. In 1847, from forty to sixty prahus issued from their haunts, ravaged a great portion of the Archipelago, laid waste the borders of the straits of Banka, burnt a village not far from Singapore, carried a number of the inhabitants into slavery, and fired upon a Dutch fortress on the coast of Borneo.[1] Before the British establishment on Labuan, a fleet of pirates from Balanini continually hovered about that group, to cut off the trade and harass the people of Bruné. So celebrated, indeed, were they, that the easterly gale which brought them, was called among the people of that coast, the Pirates' Wind. About the middle of March they appeared on the north-west, and near the end of November returned to the eastern shores of the island.[2]

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[1] Keppel, ii. 23.

[2] Brooke, *Memoirs*. Keppel, ii. 196.

Labuan infested.

The Pirates' Wind.

In May 1847, an engagement took place between the *Nemesis,* that British iron war steamer which made such terrific havoc among the imperial armaments of China—and eleven Balanini prahus. When attacked they anchored with their sterns to seaward, between the horns of a small bay, connecting their craft with hawsers, as the barbarians of Gaul were accustomed to link whole battalions together by a chain. The action was desperate, and lasted eight hours; six vessels escaped—the others were sunk or taken. The largest of these was eighty feet long, with a full complement of eighty men. The first class prahus mounted one iron nine or ten pounder, besides six or eight smaller pieces, and an abundance of rifles and muskets—well used, according to the evidence afforded by the dead and wounded in the English boats The pirates had musket proof bulwarks; but they lost many of their number. This was the fleet which had devastated the straits of Banka. On board those vessels which were captured, were

Battle with pirates.

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[1] Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 253. From Dutch official authority.

[2] Brooke, *Memoirs.* Keppel, ii. 196.

found a hundred captives, chained in couples with yokes of rattan. They had been forced to come on deck while the battle lasted, and many were killed. The buccaneers themselves refused to be taken alive, and fought with surprising valour.[1]

Courage of the buccaneers.

Guilt of the sultan of Sulu.

Whether or not the sultan of Sulu accredited the people of his territories in complicity with this or any other piratical enterprise, is not strictly to be proved; but it is certain, that from the Sulu group long continued to issue annual swarms of marauders. They left their island retreats about the middle of the north-westerly monsoon, sailed round Borneo with a favourable wind, ranged away to Java, Banka, Singapore, and the peninsula, visited all the defenceless places in their way, attacked any trading prahu that fell across their track, and frequently descending on some unprotected village swept away all its inhabitants. No less than six flotillas of from five to eleven prahus each, were seen to pass the Sarawak river in 1847. A large native vessel belonging to a merchant of that vicinity, was captured in the neighbouring waters; her crew saved themselves in boats, but her valuable cargo being taken, she was scuttled and sunk. Another prahu from the Natunas to Singapore, with a lading of oil, was chased by five pirates to the isle of Salang, near the Sarawak river, and two large boats maintained a close action; but being well armed and bravely manned they escaped pillage.[2]

Season of their adventures.

Anecdotes.

The Jolo pirates;

Formerly Jolo, in the Philippine group, was the haunt of a renowned and dreaded community of buccaneers. In 1798, the Spanish schooner, *San José*, lay at anchor at Tabita, near this island, and the captain prepared to go on shore. The sons-in-law and nephews of the sultan came out to meet him, displaying every symbol of peace, sent a boat forward with refreshments, and invited him to visit them. Deceived by their frank demeanour, flattered by their dignity, the captain went accompanied only by two sailors. He stepped on board one of the native vessels, and was immediately seized and threatened with death, unless he surrendered his ship. He complied with a hope of sparing the effusion of blood; but the two sailors, nevertheless, were savagely murdered before his eyes. The *San José* was then piloted to Jolo, and sold with her cargo and crew. The sultan knew and sanctioned the whole proceeding, refusing all apology or reparation which the Spaniards were too timid, feeble, or indifferent to extort by force of arms. The piratical sultan, indeed, was powerful enough to defy a common enemy. He was entrenched in a large city, fortified by thick walls and towers, and defended by a numerous and martial population. He possessed also many vessels capable of mounting heavy guns; and so dreaded was his name, that embassies from the remotest coasts of the Red Sea came to his court, with gifts of precious commodities to conciliate his favour.[1]

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[1] Mundy, ii. 364.

[2] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 129, 130.

anecdote of them.

Piratical sultan.

Casting a general view over the rest of the Archipelago, we find it swarming in all parts with these maritime robbers. Generally among the inferior classes, the population on the sea-board addicting themselves to this pursuit, unite with it the vocation of fishers. Living in their prahus during the greater part of the year, they only retire at particular seasons to their land retreats, where new enterprises are prepared. They are scattered along the southern or eastern coast of Sumatra, among the Linga isles, on the shores of Celebes, on some

Economy of the pirate life.

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[1] De Comyn, *Philippines*, 244—247.

of the uncolonised Moluccas, and lately existed even in the straits of Sunda between the Bay of Batavia and the Banka Channel, as well as along the whole extent of Java, where a multitude of small islands still afford them places of shelter and abode. Their prahus are, for the most part, equipped by from forty to fifty men, armed with small brass pieces, pikes, and sabres. They commonly assemble six or eight of these vessels — sometimes, however, as many as twenty or thirty, and on extraordinary occasions no fewer than a hundred; and combining the power of sails and oars, pursue their prey, or escape their enemies with surprising adroitness and agility.[1]

Prefer flight to conflict;

When brought to close conflict, they fight with determination; but when their inferiority of force is obvious, they seek refuge in flight to retreats only accessible to them. Little groups so surrounded by sunken patches of coral reef as to be almost unapproachable, serve them as places of security. From the midst of these they emerge and attack, not only native boats but European traders, profiting by calms, contrary winds, or the weakness of those whom they assail. When no prospect appears of gaining by the sale of their prisoners, or there is a chance of detection, they kill without mercy, not only the men, but the women and children who fall into their hands — or sometimes this is done to revenge an obstinate resistance. Occasionally, one of the captives is released to procure a ransom for the rest; and the pirates boldly await his return at some appointed rendezvous — perhaps in the vicinage of a commercial settlement.[2]

their attacks.

Cruelty.

Ransom.

Among the most notorious and inveterate of the in-

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 159.

[2] *Géographie de l'Inde Neerlandaise.* 1843.

The Linga pirates;

ferior piratical communities have always been those of of Linga, the straits and the shores of the Malay Peninsula. The Linganese prey to a destructive extent, on the commerce and industry of all the neighbouring islands, not only by their own marauding expeditions, but in the shelter and assistance they afford to others of the same calling from Mindanao. With reference to them, as well as the freebooters of Rhio, Dutch writers more than thirty years ago described them, on the authority of natives[1], as pirates not actually inhabiting those islands, but as being scattered over a multitude of islets, which form a miniature Archipelago around them—although the supreme jurisdiction of the whole rested with the sultanate of Linga. An intermediary control over them belonged, in the first place, to a self-styled Orang Kaya Linga, two brothers, Datu Muda and Datu Panghulu, both established at Palo Mapar, towards the south-eastern point of Linga. In the second, authority was exercised by another subordinate chief, Ongko Tumangong, who resided in the little bay of Bocaya, called also Pulo Lama. The brothers Orang Kaya Linga, had under their government three places of general assembly or sojourn for the bucaneers—Sakara, Barok, and Darakong—forming altogether a disposable force of about 400 men and eighteen war prahus. On the other hand, the Tumangong reckoned under his administration seven localities,—Galang, Timian, Pulo Bocaya, Seghi, Patako, and Bollang, contributing in all 1200 men and forty-eight vessels.

their politics;

their occupations.

These, the pirates of the Linga group, never gave themselves much pains to cultivate the soil of the islets and rocks on which they dwelt. They watered no

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[1] Evidence of Rajah Akil.

Fisheries.

rice fields, they planted no gardens, but lived on fish and the bread of the sago-tree, which is found in abundance there. This also they exchanged in large quantities for other articles of consumption. When an expedition was planned, it was customary for the principal chiefs to advance their followers' supplies of arms, provisions, and equip a flotilla. On its return, however, with a freight of plunder, the owners gained back their own, doubled from the general gains of the adventure — for the stores were always valued a hundred per cent beyond their cost. Thus, in this confederation of robbers, the humble were spoiled by the great; the rich turned their eminence to an undue advantage over the poor; and the poor, commissioned to pillage, gave up to their masters the chief accumulations of their vicarious guilt. They were, besides, forced to sell to their rulers at a fixed price, whatever they did not require for their own use. They disposed of the booty at a large profit to Chinese merchants and others coming for trade to the ports of Linga. Should it have happened that an expedition was prevented for one year, the boats were employed in fishing for agar-agar and trepang, which abound in those waters, and were sought by them as far as Biliton and Banka. All this the sultan obtained at a fixed price, — a price so small that the fishers' earnings sufficed only to buy a daily meal of sago, — and thus the economy of plunder furnished resources to the hand of oppression, for the chartered enemies of trade were themselves the slaves and victims of a greater robber than them all.

Barter.

Periodical expeditions.

Tyranny of chiefs.

Routes of the Linganese fleets.

It was the custom of the Linganese freebooters annually to pursue their enterprise along a well-known route, which gave them the constant favour of the current and the wind. Like the Lanuns of Mindanao, they sailed towards the close of the westerly monsoon, or even during December or January. They then steered by the straits of Sunda, along the northern coasts of Java, where they remained until the turning of the east wind. Then traversing one of the passages east of that island, they stretched along the eastern and southern shores, which they continued to infest until the commencement of May. Arrived at the extreme point of their route, they took their way back to their haunts, pillaging as they went the maritime districts of Banka and Palembang. If successful in collecting any rich booty, they proceeded directly homewards; but when, as it frequently happened, the adventure produced little fruit, they harassed the neighbouring coasts until the easterly monsoon closed upon their ravages. Then, whether with or without a store of plunder, in obedience to the imperative signal of the wind, they invariably retired to their insular retreat, where, in the torpor of reptiles, they remained until the season of enterprise once more returned.[1]

Forbearance of Europeans. **Treaties with the freebooters.** **Anecdote.**

The Dutch, as well as the English, treated with a forbearance more criminal than magnanimous the pirate sultan of Linga. The Netherlands' authorities, indeed, sent missions to him, and in 1818, bound him by a treaty to aid in the extinction of a system by which he flourished and by which his subjects lived; and this convention was continually renewed, but to little purpose; for when a whole community is habituated to crime, signatures and seals will not restrain them from it, especially when from interest as well as predilection, they incline to its pursuit. Two years after one treaty was signed by this piratical sultan, a trading brig, *Susanna Barbara,* was attacked by five vessels near Indramayo, on the coast of Java. The assailants were Malays from the vicinity of Linga. They summoned the captain to surrender, discharged their swivels in rapid succession, beat their gongs with frantic energy, but failed to intimidate him into submission. Undismayed, however, they continued to pursue until a round shot from the brig struck one of the prahus, which induced the buccaneers to haul off for the night. Nevertheless, they followed the chase; and coming up with her next morning, inquired whether she was the same vessel they had fallen in with the day before. Her captain replied " Yes." They then once more commanded him to yield, and re-opened their fire. The sails and rigging of the Dutchman were considerably injured, but little serious harm was effected, though a continued battery might have proved fatal in the end. A brisk gale fortunately sprung up, and quickly separated the brig from her assailants. She made way for Java; but the pirates never desisted from their pursuit until they saw her anchored safely in the roads of Tegal.[1]

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport,* 1818.

In 1825, the two principal pirate chiefs in the old territory of the Malay empire were Panghulu Hambah, Rajah of Mapar, to whom all the Rayat Laut of the Linga group confessed allegiance, and the Rajah Lang of Bolang, to whom submitted the sea-people of Gallang and other isles situated near the entrance of the Straits. These do not appear to have been of the pure Malayan race; there was at all events a marked difference between the Orang Malays and the Orang Laut. Their language was nearly identical; but in their respective character there was an essential dissimilitude. They preserved an economy of their own, going to sea under captains attached to the interests of their great chiefs, from whom, indeed, they hired boats, stores, guns, and provisions, in return for which a proportion of the booty

Tribes of pirates.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 198.

was assigned. The authority of these individuals, however, was not hereditary, but elective, so that the spirit of the people was to some degree expressed in the choice of their rulers.

The pirates of the Peninsula and the Straits, though not so formidable or renowned as those of the Mindanese Lake, of Sulu, or of Eastern Borneo, are among the most inveterate and destructive in those seas.[1] Their haunts have been long celebrated as swarming with miscreants, who, drunk with opium fumes, plundered boats and murdered their crews as a profession, and once drove away all the European merchants at Patani, thus extinguishing a market and closing a channel of enterprise to the regions of Insular Asia.[2] At present the most noted haunts are, on the western coast, the Bunting, Aree, Cocab, Pisang, Dinding, and Sambilang isles, the groups on the Salongore sea-board, and between Cape Rachada and Lingie, the rivers Merbowe, Binnan, Perak, Putteh, Korru, Rio Formosa, and formerly the Lingie, with the Straits of Kalang and Duyong, Point Romania, and the Carimon isles to the south. Eastward lie the creeks and streams of Johore, as far as Pahang, the Kemamang river, the rivers of Tringanu, and Kalantan, with the islets of Tundang, Tingi, Aor, and Redang.[3] In Siak there were usually, thirty-four years ago, forty vessels and upwards, under two chiefs, tributary to another, who was supreme over the whole border. When that personage led the expedition himself, eighty prahus generally assembled. Each was from eight to twelve tons burden, and carried twenty or thirty men, with two guns and four swivel

Haunts in the Straits.

Ravages of the pirates.

Large fleets.

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport.*

[2] Pennant, *India Extra Gangem,* iii. 32.

[3] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca,* i. 32.

pieces. The vicinity of Salangore was the habitual scene of their depredations. They proceeded thither during the easterly gales of June, and remained until some booty had been collected or the winds changed. They seem never to have ventured on an enterprise along the Javan coast.[1]

Malay rajahs.

The coast-dwellers of the Malay peninsula formed in other parts several tribes, each of which, known in the country dialect as Subi, was under the authority of a chief. All these petty rulers were dependent on a prince of superior rank, who held his authority direct from the sovereign throne. In this manner the whole political system of the region was founded on piracy. Giving themselves up to no honourable industry, they prowled over the seas from coast to coast, living principally on sago and fish, and wearing only a girdle about the loins. They know by certain signs whether or not the rains would be abundant or scanty, whether the weather would be turbulent or calm. In their voyages they made no use of the compass, but directed their course at night by the stars, and in daylight by the sun.

Pirate navigators.

Warned by infallible tokens when their boats approached a coral reef, a shoal or sound, they measured the depth of the sea, by day from the colour of the water, and at night by the reflection of those luminous orbs, which, imagined by the fancy of some nations to be the presiding influences of peace, served to these buccaneers as signs and guides in their adventures of pillage and murder. A constant sojourn away from land gave them this curious and valuable experience, and in the picture of their wild erratic life, in the economy of their little fleets, and the hard modes of their precarious enterprise, we might realise the illusions of romance, if poetry or charm of any kind could linger for a moment among savage marauders, whose stealthy course along the shores was followed by massacre, violation, and rapine.

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport.*

The Rayat Laut.

The Rayat Laut were distinguished by many characteristics which suffice to disperse all the romantic ideas which imagination might suggest of them, or their adventures—a repulsive aspect, and odours like those which spread around the fellahs of the Upper Nile. Strict in their domestic laws, they acknowledged none to bind their intercourse with others. Great offences, it is said, they punished by impaling the criminal on a wooden stake shod with iron. For venial faults they contented themselves with tying the culprit hand and foot, and attaching him to a post, driven under water at a depth of six feet. To this he remained fastened, according to the degree of his culpability, from twelve hours to three days.[1] When, contrary to traditionary usage, which among the ignorant is an authority superior to justice, other punishments were inflicted on the Rayat Laut, they took to flight. Whole tribes of them abandoned the territories of their chief and fled for refuge to Borneo, to Sumatra, or to some other islands, where they relied on piracy for the means of subsistence. They settled, in preference, among those who exhibited a readiness to share in their marauding pursuits; it was thus that in former times they obtained from some petty princes of Borneo and Sumatra supplies of rice, munition, and arms, on condition that all their booty should be divided into three portions—two for the pirates themselves, and one for their ally. A proverbial saying among them exhibits the whole rationale of this usurious system—"to give two and receive one."

Their social economy.

Punishments.

Migratory pirates.

Traffic.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 270.

From the intercourse they held with the freebooters, many chiefs amassed wealth in gold and silver, in pieces of artillery, in masses of copper ore, and in beautiful women to be sold as companions for the pillow of some richer Indian prince.

Their attacks at sea.

The expeditions of the Rayat Laut were undertaken when the east winds began to blow in March, when they quitted their retreats, and proceeded to the sea tracks of trade. As soon as a prahu came in view, they chased her flying from point to point, surrounded her with their boats, and then, kriss in hand, clambered on board. The cargo was seized, and the crew murdered or captured as slaves. They who succeeded in making good prizes, carried them at once to their haunts; the others roved until the monsoon turned, when, about November or December, all collected at their nests, and each received his dividend of the season's plunder.

The Rendezvous.

Interval of rest.

An interval of rest was then spent in perpetual debauch, in revels more barbarous than the celebrated orgies of the South American buccaneers. The day was passed in cock-fighting, the night in opium smoking, or other forms of sensuality; and when an improvident profusion among chiefs and people had wasted all the accumulation of a year's adventure, the fleets were once more launched, and the course of pillage and havoc began anew. Every three months the prahus were repaired — if at home, in the creeks, under sheds of thatch — if away, they were hauled up on some safe beach to have their hulls careened, and their timbers examined.[1]

Periodical refit.

Scattered Malay communities.

Communities of this kind are still scattered over various parts of the Archipelago, often ruled by exiled chiefs, who established themselves among them with large trains of wives, children, and slaves; changing their place of settlement from time to time, and never adhering to any particular spot. Little assailable because nomade, they are among the worst enemies of trade, and their numbers are increased by desperadoes who have escaped the executioner's hand in other quarters of the East. Barbarian nobles from the bay of Illanun, from the state of Bruné, from a group of isles to the north of the Passir river in Borneo, expelled pirates from Cayelli in Bouru, fugitives from the north-east of Halmahera, from the south-west coast of Celebes, from Pontianah, from the Little Lingenese group, from the turbulent population in the maritime country of Matam, and of Kottaringin, from the northern and eastern shores of Biliton, and the north-west coast of the Great Bay of Boni, — all these, with other vagrant ruffians, join their contributions to the floating and wandering pirate race, producing an amalgam of villainy, not perhaps to be equalled in any other part of the world. We have described as belonging to the past the regular system of the Peninsula, but though confused and scattered now, with its organisation decayed, immense masses of the old piracy remain, in league with the mixed hordes which we now pourtray. It may be conceived, therefore, what desolation has been caused by the influence of this power, worse than the plague, which blighted whole populations like another scourge of nature.

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[1] Seid Hassan Alabashy, *Rapport*. Groot, *M.* i. 272.

Nomadic pirates.

Their chiefs.

Adventurers.

The fugitives from Mindanao and chiefs from the Bornean rivers, mount the largest vessels with the heaviest guns — sometimes even equipping their ponderous lanong prahus, they have been known to pass five or six years in a cruize, without returning to their general rendezvous; but making a periodical stay at the isles near the mouth of the Jambi river. Indeed they once established themselves there, and so powerfully

Retreats in Borneo.

that the sultan was obliged to ask for assistance from the Dutch against a pirate horde which had entrenched itself in the very gateway of his dominions. These floating communities are joined by Rayats from a little group to the north of the Straits of Makassar, a savage people, long accustomed to live on piracy, and reinforced from Mindanao and Sulu. Their haunts, inaccessible to pursuit, are known to few but themselves. The freebooters of Cayeli, in Bouru, had suffered some punishment from the Dutch, when they too added their strength to the mixed roving hordes with many formidable tribes from Tobello in Celebes, and various districts in Halmahera. Several Bornean princes hired out to them boats and arms, though sometimes they compelled their own people to go on expeditions for them, which was done also at a later period, by the great chiefs of Linga and Rhio.[8]

Manner of carrying on piracy.

The manner of carrying on their piracies is not always the same. It varies, not only according to the personal character of the chiefs themselves, but according to the places whence they come. Generally they display little genuine courage, and are ill-provided with powder and shot; but are in both respects far superior to the tranquil population whom danger has not yet taught the use of arms. Turbulence and jealousy frequently disturb the order of the fleets. They seldom approach the Dutch armed vessels, unless in cases of urgent necessity, or when their strength inspires them with extraordinary confidence. When forced to conflict, however, they have many times contended with skill and resolution against the armament of a ship of war—the whole company taking share, though usually not more than a fourth is engaged, the others manœu-

Contests with sloops of war.

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[1] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

vering the prahu to and fro. Some, instead of carrying their piratical emblems without disguise, rove in small flotillas, under pretence of fishing or trade, approaching the islands unsuspected, and plundering the boats, which are deceived by their appearance.[1] The people of Pulo-aut often adopt this device, equipping annually a considerable number of prahus. Consequently, the pirates of the straits and the peninsula, with the unsettled hordes, making that region their general place of assembly, may be included among the most destructive in the Archipelago. Against them, more than against the other communities, war has been carried on by the European flags. Many of their haunts have been cleared, many of their tribes dispersed; but the sea is still infested by them, and it is not long since a native trader was chased into the very roads of Singapore.

Disguised piracy.

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[1] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

CHAPTER VIII.

The wide-spread and ancient system of piracy which I am describing, has been traced from Mindanao, through the Philippines, to Borneo and Sulu, to the Malay peninsula; among the islands of the neighbouring sea, and in scattered drifting hordes over the whole Archipelago. We now find it established in Sumatra, the coasts of which were lately formidable to the trader[1], and are still at intervals the theatre of buccaneering outrage. Probably few of the aborigines have adopted this profession—unless we agree that the Malays sprang from an interior kingdom of Sumatra, though even the legend which assigns them that cradle, derives their earliest origin from Celebes. The pirates of Reteh, between the mouths of the Jambi and the Indragiri rivers, were of a race entirely distinct from the population on either side of the district they inhabited. They were evidently foreign colonists, and are said to have been descended from the famous Lanuns of Mindanao. The cause of their emigration from the Lake was a war, undertaken several years previously by the Dutch East India Company against the sultan of Linga. Mohammed, the prince then reigning, called the Lanuns to his aid; and it was from the force which proceeded to assist him, that the pirate colony of Reteh sprang. They were celebrated and dreaded by the natives, as equal in courage and fury to the renowned buccaneers of the Philippine group. The rest of the population in the

Pirates of Sumatra.

Of Reteh.

History of this settlement.

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[1] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 72.

province they tenanted was composed of some submissive aborigines, and of some prisoners whom they treated as slaves. The whole community could muster a thousand men fit to carry arms. Their vessels were ten or twelve in number—from sixteen to twenty tons burden, could carry from fifty to eighty men each, and were armed with one great gun, in addition to two pieces of inferior calibre. The Lanuns of the Sumatran colony, like the pirates of Linga, sent out an expedition every year. It was their custom to put to sea as soon as the violent gales of the easterly monsoon had subsided, and the weather began to calm. They steered directly for the Lampongs, on the coast of Sumatra, where they sojourned for some time—the rajahs there being connected with them by many family ties. Thence they proceeded to the northern shores of Java, applying themselves to harass the people, and collect the edible birds' nests from caverns well known to them. As soon as the winds fell, they made the tour of the island, cruized about the Straits of Banka, to capture the native craft—and from time to time descended on land, so that at length they perceptibly thinned the inhabitants of Banka[1]—themselves formerly a famous race of pirates.[2]

Its forces.

Season cruizes.

From the south-eastern extremity of Sumatra, to the northern end of Banca Straits, spreads a dreary level of more than 300 miles, treeless, dead, and silent. Far up its muddy creeks dwells a scanty population of Malays, who rarely emerge from their hiding-places, except to plunder some stranded vessel, which they burn for the sake of the iron employed in its construction. The crews, if captured, are carried into the interior, to a

Pirate nests on the coasts.

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport.*

[2] Hamilton, *New Account*, ii. 121.

Character of the people.

desolate and hopeless bondage.[1] The Sumatran coast, indeed, from Bancalis to Achin, has long been celebrated for the treacherous and bloody disposition of the people who surprised and murdered nearly every stranger coming among them.[2] The American ship *Friendship* was attacked a few years since, and captured by the Malays of Qualla Battu, on the north-west coast of Sumatra.[3] Immediately, the United States despatched the frigate *Potomac,* to avenge the commercial flag of the Republic. The place was visited; the people were chastised, and no American ship was for several years molested in those waters.[4]

Instance of piracy.

Pirates of the creeks.

The pirates established in the creeks of Saba, Reteh, and the river Indragiri, dispersed small divisions of their forces around the islands of Brahalla, Allantiga, and some others scattered in the vicinity. They then waited for the trading flotillas passing from north to south, and profited by a calm to attack them. The booty and slaves were sold at the port of Sumatra — to Arab merchants who preferred, and still prefer this kind of traffic to any other.[5]

Biliton.

Two races of pirates.

Water dwellers.

In the island of Biliton, there lately existed, according to native accounts, pirates of two distinct races, — the one formerly settled in a province of Banka, the other descended from the Suku Djarri, a family once subject to the sultan of Johore. These communities of freebooters lived habitually upon the water in little prahus sheltered with mats, and of which each served as the separate habitation of a family. These patriarchs of the sea were rovers by profession. They never set foot to earth for purposes of agriculture, or any other honest vocation, forming thus a class distinct from the real islanders of Biliton. Their prahus were of two kinds—the dwelling, and the war-boats; for those in which they carried on their piracy were quite different from those in which they made their habitual home. The family boats were moored at different places—fifty for living, and four for adventure in one—eighty for living, and six for adventure in another—a hundred and twenty for living, and ten for adventure in a third. The largest, however, were seldom of more than four or five tons burden, and their crews were armed only with two small guns and some lances. These were, in general, the petty marauders who infested the coasts of Java, and eked out the means of subsistence with sago and fish. Five or six men, with women and children, was the average company in a family boat; and in this picturesque, but dishonourable manner of life, with all its dangers, they found a pleasure not to be abdicated for the sake of tranquillity and comfort earned by the continuous toil of their hands.[1]

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 133. [2] Hamilton, *New Account*, ii. 126.

[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 387.

[4] Reynolds, *Voyage of the Potomac*. Reynolds, *On the Exploring Expedition.*

[5] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

Various families of freebooters.

In the neighbourhood of this once notorious haunt, was the little isle of Karimata, containing, it was said, about forty families subject to the prince of Rhio. Though subsisting partly on the accumulations of pillage, this little population was mainly dependent on the trepang fishery, which yielded them about 200 piculs a year. Their marauding cruizes were confined to the southern coast of Java—and were commenced with the rising breezes of April. The enterprise was repeated three or four times during the monsoon.[2]

Karimata pirates.

All through the south-eastern parts of the Archipelago, in Celebes, Ceram, the Moluccas, the various

Other pirates of the islands.

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[1] Alabashy, *Rapport*, 1801.

[2] Muntinghe, *Rapport.*

groups beyond them, and in New Guinea, as well as in the great chain of islands extending from Java to Timor, hordes of buccaneers have found a refuge, and issue to commit offences against industry and trade. Tobello in Celebes has from remote times been celebrated as a refuge of the most daring class of pirates. Towards the end of the westerly monsoon, their prahus are most commonly met on the surrounding waters; and the peacefully inclined natives, constrained by circumstances, enter into friendly intercourse with them, as well as with the Lanun races; and not only permit their operations, but participate in the division of their plunder. As the easterly winds close, they quit that neighbourhood to visit the Saleyers, and the channels south of them; and if the gales are still favourable, infest the shores of Floris, and the isles in the Allas Strait. Their sojourn among the northern groups depends much on incidents very changeable in their nature. During the greater part of the year, however, they can easily gain the southern isles of the Saleyer group, the northern coasts of Celebes, or the Straits of Makassar. The smaller boats, indeed, profit by this facility to return, while others remain all the year, cruizing and increasing their freights of plunder.[1]

General economy of their haunts and cruizes.

Thus one flotilla continually infests, during the first half of the year, the coasts of Celebes and the groups which, geographically, are attached to it; and during the second, the isles to the east of Java. Celebes, however, is not free from pirates during the second half of the year, or the south of the Archipelago during the first. Fleets of buccaneers continually rove between, drawn by any temptation from their usual course, and ready to descend on any point where an industrious population with the fruits of its labour offered an inducement to attack, without the danger of a very fierce resistance.[1]

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[1] Piracy is here a science and a system.

Much of this evil has been eradicated by the efforts of the Dutch, though the system is still rampant, if in an inferior degree. The hordes of Tobello have left a name long to be remembered in connection with the barbarism of the Archipelago. Within the limits where their hands had liberty to range is situated the little island of Wononi. An amphitheatre of hills, gracefully curving from the shore, with its face open to the sea, enclosed a number of picturesque and romantic villages. Many streams wound down from the slopes to meet in the valley, which with their diffusive beneficence fructified richly under the hands of an industrious and peaceful population. But the Tobellorais pirates discovered this retreat, visited it again and again, captured many of its people, drove crowds to fly for safety to other islands, hunted a few families to a wretched independence in the hills, and left a desert in the place, which had bloomed in happiness and beauty, until the curse of piracy fell upon it, with more than pestilential rigour.[2]

Isle of Wononi.

Its beauty.

Its peaceful inhabitants.

Ravaged by pirates.

In the south-eastern peninsula of Celebes, the people dwell habitually in secluded spots, in habitations never substantially built, because always exposed to the incursions of pirates.[3] The commerce carried on along the shores of the island attracts to this day many buccaneering flotillas, encouraged by some of the chiefs, in the districts of Losernarah and Tomori — whose subjects, with no acknowledged means of life, commit depredations by land, as well as by sea, on the peaceful tribes of

Ravages in Celebes.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 322.

[2] Temminck, iii. 74.

[3] Ibid. 63.

Taboenku.[1] Many of the independent states less known to Europeans still indeed form strongholds of the piratical system.[2] The islands, also, which geographically belong to the southern peninsula, are inhabited by a hardy sea-faring people, gaining their livelihood by fishing, but varying that occupation with piracy. One of their insular fastnesses, Tanekeke, or the Land of Sorcerers, is encircled by a chain of rocky islets, very difficult to approach.[3]

The fishing tribes.

Saleyer group.

The group which we have mentioned, named Saleyer—in Malay "a sail"—is composed of one large and several small isles, formerly reputed so poor in natural capabilities as to fail in the support even of the scanty population which inhabited it. Its possession was regarded as rather a burden than an advantage to the Company. Since 1824, however, when an inquiry into its resources took place, it has been found capable not only of subsisting a thick population, but of contributing to a valuable trade. Monopoly on the one hand, and piracy on the other, had been the origin of its desolation; and the ruins of villages, with the traces of former culture, exhibited the real cause of that which had been carelessly attributed to the stinted liberality of nature.[4]

Anecdote.

In the south-western groups scattered between Borneo and New Guinea, we follow the traces of the piratical economy of the Archipelago. The natives on the north-east coast of Wetta are reported by the Dutch to have been long addicted to this practice, pillaging trading boats, and putting their crews to death.[5] An English vessel was a few years since cast off by the people of Baba, four Englishmen were killed, and the cargo plundered. Soon after a native prahu was also captured.[1] The piratical system of the south-western isles was carried on chiefly for the purposes of the slave trade, there being little inducement of any other kind.[2]

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[1] Temminck, iii. 67.
[2] Ibid. 86.
[3] Ibid. 38.
[4] Ibid. 39.
[5] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 44.

Ceramese pirates.

The Ceramese pirates of Ceram Laut form another community. They dwell in a large island encompassed by many smaller, the whole fringed round with coral rocks, difficult of access. The centre is hilly, where a tall tree marking the grave of some fallen chiefs, forms a landmark for the seaman. A small population inhabits it, partly of aborigines, and partly of strangers—fugitives, who are treated as serfs—obliged to work for their masters, to cultivate rice for them, and attend them on their piratical excursions.

Their boats.

The boats employed by the people of the Ceram Laut and Goram isles, vary very considerably. Those used for war are narrow, lightly built, lying low in the water, with a stage projecting from the side, on which the rowers take their station—a frame-work like that of the Piron isle canoes.[3] In the middle is built a cabin, on the flat roof of which the fighting men move through the wild evolutions of their martial dance. Across the fore part is erected a thick barricade pierced for swivels, and affording protection to the crew, for the attack is always made stem on, no bulwarks being raised along the sides. Generally the oars are manned by captives from Papua, fed on sago and a kind of periwinkle, with a little dried fish, much in esteem among them. They spend in piracy the intervals between their fishing season, and contribute to the spoliations yearly committed on trade and industry throughout the Archipelago.[4] All these communities, as in many other parts

Captives.

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[1] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 140.

[2] Earl, *Notes*, 204.

[3] Described by Macgillivray, *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, i. 207.

[4] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 296.

of the region, are not submitted to the authority of a single chief, but form so many savage republics of buccaneers.[1]

New Guinea.

In New Guinea the system has its branches, and the people of Papuaoni and Amalas on the coast directly east from Ceram Laut annually send away from 100 to 120 small prahus, as marauding adventurers. The flotilla extends its operations to a considerable distance. The modes of warfare among these tribes are exceedingly primitive—bows, arrows, and lances, forming their only weapons. They are said to devour the prisoners they capture. Whether, however, they or the other islanders in that sea, practise cannibalism has not been determined by the latest and most scientific inquirers.[2] They never attack the Ceramese rovers who are powerful enough to retaliate effectually upon them. Numbers of prahus, however, are sent out to lie in wait among the channels and banks fronting the west coast of Timor Laut to plunder the traders of the Tenimber group, as they return from their commercial voyage to the westward. Other of their "jonkos" annually visit these places to fish for trepang, and to collect tortoise-shell; but all pillage whenever the opportunity occurs[3], sometimes even making descents upon the coast.

Inhabitants of New Guinea.

The people of the immense island of New Guinea are not all to be confounded with the piratical populations of insular Asia. They form[4] two distinct nations, the coast and the hill dwellers, or "infidels of the mountain," as the old Mohammedan writers described them. The latter are the most numerous, but the former the most hardy and daring, in consequence of which they have become the dominant race. They use their power as barbarians generally employ it—for the oppression of the weak. They make incursions into the interior, seizing the maidens in their villages for sale as concubines for the chiefs, for these girls are esteemed as beautiful, almost realising in their charms of form and face the ideal of an Indian voluptuary's desire.[1]

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 159.
[2] Macgillivray, *Voyage*, i. 283.
[3] Kolff, *Dourga*, 349.
[4] Lacépède, *Ages de la Nature*, i. 243.

Coast dwellers.

Beautiful female captives.

Last in our enumeration of the piratical tribes and natives which prey on the industry and trade of the Archipelago, are those among the Borneo aborigines—the Dyaks. I reserve them to this place because doubts exist in the minds of some whether they ever pursued, or are still addicted to, the freebooter's vocation. It has been affirmed that Sir James Brooke is the first person who ever charged those wild and primitive natives with habits and propensities of the kind.[2] That this is an erroneous idea is to be proved, not by any ingenious declamation, but by simple quotation of some authorities prior to Sir James Brooke, and of others independent of his views. Old writers, describing the Dyaks of Borneo, though under a wrong name[3], exactly as they are, inhabiting the interior parts, living under chieftains, continuing in the pagan faith, but not idolaters, believing in spirits of good and evil, with ideal glimpses of a peaceful world beyond, with "lances and poisoned arrows for arms," represent them distinctly as inclined to buccaneering practices. "Some of them," says an author who collected the

Pirate Dyaks of Borneo.

Denial of their existence.

Proofs of their existence.

Various authorities.

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[1] Kolff, *Dourga*, 380.

[2] Joseph Hume, M. P., *Letter to The Times*, Feb. 2nd, 1852.

[3] The acute and cautious Daniel Beeckman, who wrote in 1715, speaks of the "inland inhabitants" of Borneo as distinguished from the foreign settlers (Malays) as pagans, "living generally upon rapine and the spoil of their neighbours."—Beeckman, *Voyage to Borneo*, 43.

accounts extant in his day, "lead a piratical life in the great rivers, and are most formidable enemies."[1] Nearly a century and a half ago they were notorious to travellers as a "fierce, desperate people."[2] In 1819, "the Dyaks," on the borders of the river Molucco, to the east of the great stream of Banjarmassin, destroyed a fort on the banks, and killed one European officer. It was generally known that the Dyak population of that district, as well as of Banjar, carried on an intercourse of mutual complicity with the freebooting communities more powerful than themselves, of whom, indeed, they purchased arms and artillery, to equip their own expeditions.[3]

Accumulation of testimony.

Example of their outrages.

The war schooner *Haai*, stationed at Sambas, in Borneo, suffered considerably from a flotilla of thirty "Dyak prahus," which attacked her, in the year 1819. At the same time the coasts of Pontianak were much infested by Dyak pirates. At Mampawa an action took place with them. The chief of the place having learned that there were nine of their prahus at the mouth of the river, each manned by from thirty to forty of these notorious sea-banditti, resolved to attack them, though with a small force. They fought at close quarters, no other weapon being used than the klewang, a heavy sword or cutlass. These Dyaks, according to the Dutch writers, came from Sarebas [4], which is only accessible to the peculiarly constructed boats of that people.[5] He describes them in their expeditions as carrying fire, murder, and havoc along the cultured and peaceful shores, and bearing away as trophies the skulls of their victims. Having at that time few or no fire-arms they used klewangs and javelins, with the points hardened by fire.[1] They have been known in large bodies to join the Lanuns, in their piratical excursions, claiming the heads and the iron work captured as their division of the spoil.[2]

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[1] Pennant, *India extra Gangem*, iv. 58.

[2] Hamilton, *New Account*, ii. 150.

[3] Halewijn, *Journal des Indes*, ii. Groot, *Mon.* i. 233.

[4] Temminck, ii. 260.

[5] The Sarebas and Sakarran are described as "disturbers of the coast" by Mr. Robert Burns, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 143.

Their weapons.

Sea Dyaks.

The sea Dyaks are described by one of the best informed writers [3] on Borneo, as frequenting the neighbouring waters in their prahus, to carry off the heads of defenceless fishermen, or any other persons whom they may find unprotected, or off their guard. They inhabit chiefly the tracts about the rivers Sarebas and Sakarran, with their numerous and large branches, which form estuaries and deltas, with many avenues to the sea, very favourable to clandestine enterprises, and the facility of retreat.

Their piracies.

Country of the sea Dyaks.

The country on the great rivers, occupied by the sea Dyaks, is generally flat towards the coast, and hilly towards the interior. In many parts dense forests overshadow it, broken by spacious levels, where the soil is fertile and the inhabitants, if industrious, may produce rice in abundance, while fruit of a tasteful and nutritious kind is plentiful, and within the reach of all. Small paths intersect the woods, leading from one village to another, and known to all the pirates, but only to them, and serving them as a means of communication. Though the place of residence is generally chosen on the borders of some stream, many villages lie deeply

Beautiful abodes.

Secret paths.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 192.

[2] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 314.

[3] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*. Temminck describes the tribes of Dyaks which give themselves up "au pillage, au meurtre, et à la piraterie," ii. 384; and Pritchard (*Physical History*, i. 455.) speaks of the Tedong or Tivan tribes "who live by piracy;" see also v. 84. 87.

secluded in the jungles, accessible by ways familiar to none but their tenants and the tribes who may be in friendly association with them. Some are situated far up the interior, near the sources of rivers, where the water is too shallow for purposes of navigation. When, therefore, the fighting-men of these communities desire to partake in the excitement and gain of a piratical enterprise, they march towards the sea, and join the flotilla of some tribe located further down the stream.

Villages.

The villages of the sea Dyaks are composed of large houses, with one common apartment, and many separate chambers, with the singular economy of which we have been made familiar from the narratives of recent enterprise.[1]

Sir James Brooke.

At a council held in 1847, near the confluence of the Sakarran and Batang Lupar rivers, the chief of a considerable tract of country declared, before an embassy from Sir James Brooke, that he would kill the first man who committed another act of piracy, but he was with several others who spoke in a similar tone borne down by the majority. Freebooting was to them the prescriptive privilege of their tribe; the inveterate usage to which the habits of a life had wedded their attachment, their undoubted source of revenue and pleasure. While orators and journalists in England deny their crimes, and condemn their punishment, they avow their offences, and glory in the perpetration of them. The people, indeed, when some of their leaders endeavoured to put an end to piracy, were enraged by this check upon their ancient modes of life, and fled to the villages of the interior. There the chiefs were still attached to their hereditary vocation, and were too sensible of its profitable nature to relinquish it until compelled.[2]

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[1] Brooke, Keppel, Mundy, and St. John's *Views in the Archipelago.*

[2] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, ix. 166. 169, 170.

Soon after Sir James Brooke visited the Archipelago common fame brought to him accounts that the powerful tribe of the Serebas, wearing small earrings, were the most fierce and treacherous of all the Dyak race.[1] Excepting the Sakarran, they were the most savage, delighting in pillage and head-hunting, both by sea and land. By sea they rowed in their prahus, well-manned, with an average of fifty men, and all they fell in with was their lawful prey. In their own waters, indeed, they were pleasant, hospitable, and faithful to their engagements, but were held in detestation by all the peaceful tribes. The number of rings they wore distinguished them; on expeditions they decked themselves with caps of scarlet cloth, a foot high, peaked or square, and embroidered with beads, shells, feathers, and bits of paper. Spears and swords were their weapons—firearms being rare among them, and the use of the sumpitan unknown. Their boats are plainly built, unlike those with lofty stems, elaborately carved, of the Balow people. The Serebas are not so warlike as the Sakarrans, and dread a conflict with fire-arms. In 1841, however, the fighting men of their tribe made a terrible incursion into the territory of Sarawak, burning and sacking the villages, killing the men, and carrying off the women and children. A miserable tribe of Sanproas had just previously been attacked. In 1842, a fleet of them threatened the Sarawak river. The Sakarrans were under a half-bred Arab sheriff, and so fearful were their depredations, that the pleasant and fertile borders of the Sibuyow river, once populous and cultivated, were utterly abandoned by the pacific and well-disposed inhabitants, who could never for one season feel secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their summer's toil. Many, indeed, were forced

Serebas pirates.

Their vessels.

Sakarrans.

Their ravages.

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[1] Brooke, Mundy, i. 202.

to join the pirates, while others fled,—a hundred families at a time,—and thus wholesale depopulation was among the works of the buccaneering system. Women and children were frequently demanded from the harmless communities, and given up in order to put off the time of utter impoverishment and ruin. In this manner the sprout and blade of a nascent civilisation were trodden down; the very traces of them obliterated, and their influence neutralised, until the strength of that peaceful genius interposed to secure with its privilege of judgment its prerogative of mercy.

Mixed community of pirates.

The Sakarran river had a small Malay, and a very numerous Dyak population—all piratical, and ruled by Mohammedan sheriffs. Sahib, born in this place, was for many years lord of numerous river communities, communicating with the Lanun pirates, and accumulating in his treasuries an overflowing fund of plunder. Two hundred Dyak boats were sometimes collected under his command, with fifteen or twenty Malay prahus, cutting up all the coast trade. In one excursion in 1844, they burned eight villages, killed a large number of people, and carried away a long train of slaves. When the tribes are by this process driven from their cultivated homes to a refuge in some spot where tillage is unknown, famine usually breaks in upon them, and the emaciated frames, the sunken eyes, the distended stomachs of these poor savages, consumed by the slow and wasting agonies of hunger, appeal to the humanity of civilisation to free them from the disastrous curse which has fallen on their soil.[1]

Devastation of the country.

Roving expeditions.

The Malays of this pirate race never exceeded 1500 fighting men, though the Dyaks counted several thousands, and gradually divided authority with their former masters.[1] The Serebas Dyaks were accustomed to surprise small encampments on the shore, or parties in boats, or hamlets in secluded situations. These acts they achieved of their own authority, yielding only a nominal allegiance to the sultanate of Bruné. Their boats are built very long, raised at the stern, and the largest pulling as many as sixty paddles, the average equipment of each being twenty-five men.[2] They are so exceedingly fast that no English gig can compete with them.[3] The Serebas prahus often measure ninety feet from stem to stern, pull sixty oars, and carry a twelve pounder in the bow. The Dyak Bangkongs draw only a few inches of water. They are more swift and of light build, overhanging a long way at either end. When propelled by from sixty to eighty paddles, they would outstrip a London wherry, and can be turned while at full speed at their own length. Some Malays with muskets, and sometimes a swivel or two, usually accompany the Dyaks in their boats, which with stealthy and silent approach assault a trader in the dead of night, and only give warning of their presence by the storm of spears which they pour upon his deck.[4] These marauders were so powerful that the prince, to whom in form they pretended submission, was unable to coerce them, and though himself a favourer of piracy, demanded aid from the British in the suppression of them. "They have more than 300 war prahus[5]," he said, "and extend their ravages even to Banjarmassin; they are no longer subject to the government of Bruné; they take much plunder from vessels trading between

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[1] Brooke, Mundy, i. 202. 237. 240. 298. 316. 371. 374—376; ii. 62.

Native testimony.

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[1] Keppel, i. 129.
[2] Brooke, Keppel, i. 225.
[3] Brooke, MS. note to Keppel, i. 225.
[4] Keppel, *Visit*, i. 132.
[5] Sultan's Letter, Keppel, ii. 28.

Singapore and the good people of our country." Many prahus intending to sail from Bruné in 1844, for a commercial voyage to the British settlement, were deterred by the atrocities of the Sakarrans on the high seas.[1]

Kanowit pirates.

The Kanowits were another tribe of pirates, not only acquiescing and conniving at the operations of their neighbours, but actively pursuing similar adventures themselves. In 1845 they attacked and utterly destroyed a large and beautiful village on the Palo river, killing ten men, capturing fifteen women, and hunting the rest into the jungle. The communities along the north-west coast were that year subject to continual attacks from them. In 1846 a great fleet ravaged the north-west coast — seventy war vessels, and twelve hundred men sweeping the shore, staining it at many points with blood. If, however, an attempt were made to enforce by a systematic account of tribe after tribe, or of atrocity after atrocity, the necessity of suppressing the piratical system of the Dyaks in Borneo, a whole volume might be occupied with the details. It suffices, at present, to show that they were pirates, and such pirates as humanity rejoices to destroy.[2]

Their ravages.

I may close this sketch of the pirates of the Indian Archipelago by an account of the vessels which, besides the prahus of the Lanun and Balanini, are made use of in the general war against commerce and tranquil industry.

Pirate vessels.

The most common vessels made use of among the floating communities from the Straits to the south-eastern groups, were *penjajaps*, and *kakaps*, with *paduakans*, and Malay boats of various size and construction.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 85.

[2] Mundy, ii. 70. 77. 82. 364; Keppel, i. 90. 224, 225. 233. 256. 259. 264. 272. 274. 288. 297. 310; ii. 26. 28. 39. 64. 79—84. 91. 145. 197.

The Penjajap prahus.

That called *penjajap* is a prahu of light build, straight, and very long, of various dimensions, and carrying usually two masts, with square kadjang sails. This boat is entirely open, except that aft is a kind of awning, under which the headman sits, and where the magazine of arms and ammunition is stowed away. In front it carries two guns of greater or less calibre, of which the muzzles peer through a wooden bulwark, always parallel to the line of the keel. Penjajaps of large size generally carry, in addition to these, some swivel pieces, mounted along the timber parapet; while boats of inferior tonnage are armed only with two lelahs, elevated on a beam or upright. From twenty to thirty rowers, sitting on benches well covered with mats, communicate to the vessel with their short oars a steady and rapid motion, the more swift in proportion as the prahu is small. Large ones, therefore, are often left hidden in some creek, or little maze of islets, while the light skiffs, flying through the water, proceed on their marauding errand.

The Kakap prahus.

The *Kakap* prahu is a small light boat, provided with a rudder oar, but with no other oars or sculls. It carries only one mast, with a single quadrangular sail. Like the penjajap, it is built of very buoyant timber, the planks being held together by wooden pins, and lashed with rattans. The pirate never goes to sea with a kakap alone, and the voyager may be sure whenever he descries a kakap, that a penjajap is not far behind, moving along, perhaps, in the shadow of the high coast, or lurking behind some island, or lying within the seclusion of some woody creek. Eight or ten of the best fighters are usually chosen to man these light skiffs, which remind us of those flying proas of the Ladrones described by a French voyager.[1] In calm weather the pirates row in these buoyant gallies along the shore, or mount the small rivers, confiding in their agility, and knowing well that if surprised they may fly into the woods, bear their little skiff with them, and launch it again at some spot unknown to their pursuers.[1]

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[1] Note to Sonnerat, 139.

Paduakan prahus.

Paduakans are native vessels having a single mast in the form of a tripod, and carrying a large lateen sail of mat. They are from twenty to fifty tons burden, and of great beam, with lofty sides, and little hold in the water. They are steered by two long rudders, which are lifted up when the vessel is moored or passing through a shallow.[2]

Ordinary Malay boats.

The ordinary prahus made use of by the Malay pirates, at the present day, are from eight to ten tons burden, very well manned and exceedingly fast. Usually they are armed on the bows, centre, and stern with swivel pieces, small in calibre, but of long range. When preparing to attack, strong musket-proof bulwarks of timber, called *apilans*, are erected, behind which the guns are fought until a gong gives the signal for boarding. Safety and success, however, are chiefly relied upon through skill in manœuvre. An assault is rarely if ever made, except during a calm or a lull between the land and sea breeze; though should a wind spring up, the Malays, from their hydrographical knowledge, dexterously escape, elude their pursuers in a maze of isles, or leave them shoaled upon a bank. From ten to twenty prahus compose a squadron, and the armament consists of long boarding spears, krisses, hatchets, parangs, klewangs, muskets, and blunderbusses, with missiles, such as stones, and sticks pointed and hardened with fire.[3]

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[1] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

[2] Earl, *Voyage of the Dourga*, note, 89.

[3] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca*, i. 39.

It may be decided from this view of the immense and complicated system of piracy, which grew up through ages in the Archipelago, whether the trading nations of Europe resorting for commerce to that quarter of the globe, could fail to fall into collision with the common enemies of all industry and peace. And it may be assumed that history will justify the acts which first checked and will in the end eradicate this baneful influence from a region so full of beauty, so rich in attractions, so wealthy, and so capable of civilisation.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY.

History of efforts to suppress piracy.

THE history of the exertions made by European powers for the repression of the piratical system might be extended to any length, or narrowed within any limits. It is a chain of small links drawn from the obscurity of a remote period to the present day; every year during the last century might be marked by some instance, proved from solid, recorded authority, while the whole might be fused into one general description of the war, as a conflict between trade and its destroyers.

A. D. 1705. Dutch attempts.

At the commencement of the last century the Dutch had made many attempts to extirpate a system which they found to prey with disastrous influence on their commercial enterprise. Among their other schemes was that Japanese device of restricting the builders of native craft to one class of models, of making the fisher's occupation a licence, and governing the seas by an organisation of nautical police. They adopted, besides, a regulation, which for its arbitrary nature was worthy of a Shaman's college—fixing the number of crew and passengers in all native craft,—a plan designed no doubt as much for the security of their political influence, as for the safety of their commercial enterprise. A boat of thirty tons might carry fourteen souls, while distinctions were made between their coming from Makassar, Mandhar, Bali, Bouton, Borneo, or the Peninsula.[1]

Maritime regulations.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 160.

If we condemn these inventions of the Dutch, it is for their barbarian character, and not for the object towards which they were confessedly directed. Piracy was then so flagrant that the vigour of an European nation was required to stem its ravages. In 1708, on the coast of Borneo; in 1726 on the shores of Timor and Solor; in 1751 near Java, signal instances occurred, and in 1769 the *Sea Lion* with twenty-four men, entering the Bay of Lampongs in Sumatra, was captured by forty-eight pirates, in a single prahu, and all the crew were murdered.[1]

A. D. 1708. Examples of piracy.

Continued decrees, to regulate the size of boats, and the number of their company, were issued, and the Indian princes also were invited to furnish the traders with passes, indicating the build of their vessels, the armament and numerical force of the crew, while the passengers themselves were placed under restrictions as to the time of their arrival and departure. The weapons on board were to be examined and compared with the stipulations of this license. In addition it was resolved to patrol the seas in boats, called "thousand feet," which moved under oar and sail, and were manned by six Europeans with a company of natives. These were to supersede the old gallies of Venetian build, and the use of them was judicious, though the restrictive laws belonged to that class of barbarous devices which infringe on the liberties of all to provide against the crimes of some.

Negotiation with Indian princes.

Passports.

Jambi in Sumatra, Sambas in Borneo, Pahang and Johore on the Peninsula were early notorious to the Dutch as the resorts of buccaneers. The Sultan of Johore, indeed, exculpated himself from direct complicity, but the connection of those places with the pirate

A. D. 1760. Growth of the evil.

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[1] Huyser, *Beknopte*, 133.

system became daily more obvious. In other parts of the Archipelago the evil grew, and, comprehending no grander scheme, the Netherlands' government imagined a new restrictive law. They placed a ban on the shipwright's art, throughout all those parts of the region to which their authority extended. They declared that in future all vessels of warlike build should receive no passports, and wherever they appeared should be condemned as piratical, without reference to the prince who had commissioned them to their voyage. In this assumption of imperial rule the Dutch persevered, and secured, as far as they were able, the allowance of the native powers in their crusade against pirates. The extirpation of them was an invariable condition of every treaty. Even during the Old Company's existence, a colonial marine was established which inflicted many heavy retributions on the freebooting hordes. A trading boat was on one occasion attacked by forty prahus in the Straits of Banka; two natives of Sumanap in Madura were on board, and, seeing no chance of successful resistance, allowed a crowd of their assailants to mount the vessel, and then blew her up—an incident commemorated on a monument raised by the Dutch near the spot.

Cooperation of the island powers.

Anecdote.

A. D. 1807. Romantic incident.

In 1807 a circumstance happened, which at once illustrates the character of Indian piracy, and furnishes an episode of romance to relieve that monotony which invariably belongs to a picture of bloodshed and horror. The cruizer-of-war "Vreède," was, in May 1807, attacked in the Roads of Indramayo, Java, by seven corsair prahus, each manned by about 100 men. After some resistance, most of the Company took to flight in boats, but the commander, Beekman, with the second officer Stokbro, plunged into the sea. The former was drowned, and the latter fell into the hands of the buccaneers. They shaved his head, stripped him, and carried him with them to Lampong. There he suffered every species of inhuman usage, and was even menaced with death. Presented as a gift to the prince of the Lampongs, he was treated as the most menial of slaves, and occupied with the most exhausting toil. Seven months of suffering and humiliation passed. He was then sent to the isle of Linga, and sold to the chief for thirty Spanish dollars. Hence he was transported to Rhio, where there was a Dutch garrison. The mitigated severity of his new service allowed him additional freedom, and he found means to communicate with a number of the Chinese residents. Among them was one, Tan Lianseeng, of Emonian origin, though born near Rhio, and for that reason surnamed Baba.

Baba Lianseeng, a substantial trader, owned a brig, with which he made an annual voyage to Singapore. Commerce had not entirely ossified this man's heart. He took pity on Stokbro, and being then about to depart on his periodical expedition, begged the prince to part with his European slave. The favour was granted. The Chinese purchased his new friend for fifty piastres, and carried him to Samarang. There the Dutch governor, charmed with Baba's liberality, offered to repay the ransom; but in the approval of his own conscience, the merchant discovered a sufficing reward. Stokbro married, and some years later, on the restoration of the Netherlands' authority, became a functionary of some importance in the Residency of Japara. All his life he evinced the most cordial gratitude to his Fokien benefactor, whom, thenceforward, he called his brother, and admitted to every endearment to which that title gives a claim. When Baba Lianseeng visited Java for trade, the Dutchman's welcome was always one of sincere hospitality. Stokbro fetched him from the port in his own carriage, feasted him sumptuously, and kept him eight or ten days under his friendly roof. This visit, indeed, was a periodical festival, in which the Chinese was hero of every honour, and applauded in continual repetition by a large circle of the community there. Stokbro died at Samarang, in July, 1844, while Baba Lianseeng was still living in July, 1845.[1] It is a grateful task to commemorate these passages of true romance, and to dwell upon these illustrations of the rarer virtues, in which a liberal gratitude is discovered springing from the most magnanimous offices of friendship.

Daendels' exertions.

The attempts of the Dutch Company to suppress piracy were renewed by its successors in authority, and when the isles of the Spice group diminished in commercial value, policy enforced their retention, to hold a check between the pirates of Mindanao and the southern parts of the Archipelago.[2] Marshal Daendels exerted his power with much vigour, but little effect, though a flotilla of forty armed prahus, equipped in 1810, gave some security to the Javan shores. Nothing, however, inspired fear into the minds of the buccaneers. In the commencement of that year, an English brig, the *Fly*, Captain Kemmel, was attacked at Sumanap by pirates, who came on board under pretence of trafficking. Murdering the commander and the pilot, they made themselves masters of the vessel; and numerous instances of the same nature illustrated the influence of the system. The French pretended to employ much energy in the defence of trade, but effected nothing during the brief period of their dominion.

A. D. 1810. Adventure of The Fly

A. D. 1811. French efforts.

During the English administration of Java, its coasts were more than ever the resort of piracy. In March, 1812, the haunts were attacked by the British schooner of war *Wellington*, with two gun-boats and six native prahus. One large pirate vessel was audaciously pitted against the *Wellington*, which narrowly escaped, and had many of her company wounded. In the following May, the boats of the *Modest*, royal navy, had an engagement with a marauding flotilla, probably one of those which then prowled incessantly among the channels of the Kangeang group, descending on the coasts to carry on their predatory operations. The *Coromandel* going aground on the coast of Borneo, was taken and burned; the *Matilda* fell in with a powerful fleet; the *Helen* barely saved herself in a conflict with a single prahu, mounted by eighty men; and an English trader was plundered at Koti, on the east coast of Borneo — examples which prove the dangerous character of the piracy then consuming the commerce of those seas.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 162.

[2] Röttger, *Ten Years in the East*, 122.

A. D. 1812. English enterprises. The Wellington.

The Modest.

The Coromandel.

The Matilda. The Helen.

English and Dutch continued during the first quarter of this century to carry on operations against the piratical system; and the Netherlands' flag, especially, was proclaimed as a symbol of protection to the traders of all the Archipelago. Cruizers were equipped to patrol different stations, and various schemes were projected for surrounding Java with a cordon of armed boats, built on a peculiar model, and designed to contend on equal terms with the fleet and easy vessels of the buccaneers.[1] Nevertheless, the depredations of the pirates increased rather than diminished; and they not only infested the highways of traffic, but took possession of territories — as in the tin districts of Banca. A catalogue of square-rigged ships captured about that period,

United efforts of the English and Dutch.

Cruizers stationed.

Increase of piracy.

Square-rigged

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[1] Muntinghe, *Rapport*, 1818.

ships captured.

suggests some conception of the injury inflicted on the European settlers, as well as the original population of the Archipelago. Stimulated, therefore, by these occurrences, the Dutch were perpetually devising new plans, few of which were effectual for the objects they were intended to fulfil.

A. D. 1821.

The inefficiency of their naval force employed at that period in the Indian seas, was acknowledged by the Dutch, and its augmentation recommended. Not only was this confessed, indeed. The invention of their shipwrights was allowed to be unequal to any rivalry with the ancient navigators of the Eastern Ocean. They were not, in truth, ashamed to receive a lesson from their enemies, for their own naval architecture was humiliated in comparison with the winged flotillas of the piratical race. Their vessels were of too deep a draught to pursue the buccaneers into the shallow waters to which they fled; they were too cumbrous to chase them among the tortuous channels they chose for refuge, or into the winding rivers which led to their secluded haunts, and too unwieldy to follow with oars the marauders when favoured by a calm.

Improved plans of ship-building.

Plans for suppressing piracy.

The spirit of economy ruled the councils of the Netherlands' government. An extension of the colonial marine would be a costly expedient, and might not be an effectual one. It was, therefore, resolved for the sake of thrift, as well as from a persuasion of its efficacious nature, to adopt a new plan, — to surround the rich and fertile island of Java with a line of native vessels, especially commissioned against piracy. A model was chosen of a light commodious boat, to carry a four-pounder gun, with some swivel pieces, and a company of twenty-four men armed with muskets and pikes. They were to be under the jurisdiction of the Residencies, and selected as far as possible from the Malay, the Bugis, and the

Cruizing boats.

Sumbawa people — good mariners and of respectable character. Indeed, for their fidelity, their relatives were required to offer some kind of guarantee. The commander was paid twenty florins a month, the second officer twelve, and each sailor eight, besides a provision of rice, salt, and oil. They were, in addition, entitled to a share of any booty they might capture, and peculiar rewards were displayed in prospect to those who signalised their names by any achievement of particular brilliance or gallantry.[1] The fleet was divided into eight squadrons, each moving continually along the coast from one point to another, where the station of the next commenced; and thus a succession of little flotillas was continually moving round the whole island, to protect its industry and the trade of its people. That peaceful merchant prahus should not be harassed by them, their owners were enjoined to register their vessels at some Dutch port, besides painting a fixed number in figures, at least two feet in height, on the sail, and on some conspicuous part of the hull.

Native cruizers.

Economy of the squadron.

Java surrounded by a line of cruizers.

Sea police laws.

The plan of obtaining auxiliaries among the natives was a liberal and judicious device, which promoted considerably the excellent object in view.[2] One Mohammedan chief, in 1821, crushed the piratical community of Biliton, and established the Dutch supremacy in that island.[3] Its head men submitted with grace, accepted oaths of fidelity, and declared that their subjects, abstaining in future from evil pursuits, should confess the Netherlands' authority. Two hundred war prahus were under the command of these insular marauders, but they submitted to the Muslim leader because they knew he was armed with the commission of a powerful

Native auxiliaries.

A. D. 1821. Their value.

Pirates of Biliton.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 200.

[2] Ibid. i. 201.

[3] Capellen, *Chronique de l'Inde*, 1821.

A.D. 1822. Pirates of Celebes attacked.

European state. Next year an expedition visited the north-west coast of Celebes;—a frigate, five small vessels, twenty prahus with 1000 native troops, a body of Dutch marines, and fifty Makassar *flangeurs.* They laid waste with flames a great many forts and villages, burnt fifty vessels, captured twenty-three guns, and put to death forty buccaneers.[1] To balance this success a deplorable event occurred in 1823 on the coast of Java. The *General Koch,* trading brig, was on the 27th of October attacked by seven corsair boats. The master, R. Thompson, was murdered, while the commander, with a number of the crew, only saved themselves by swimming to shore.[2]

A.D. 1823. The General Koch.

Ravages in the Molucca group.

The Dutch colonies in the Molucca group had not enjoyed tranquillity since the restoration of 1816. Hostile influences perpetually counteracted the plans of the Governor General, and the marauding system, more than all, prevented the establishment of peace. Chief among its promoters was Rajah Djilolo, one of the most renowned pirates of the country, who spread his audacious devastations even to the vicinity of Ternate, and under the batteries of Fort Victoria.

Rajah Djilolo.

This famous freebooter was descended from a Tidorian prince of the same name, who about thirty years previously, when his dynasty was overthrown, fled and seized some Alfoeran districts under the jurisdiction of Ternate. Next he retired for refuge to the little-known island of Ceram, with its unexplored wilderness of sago forest. There he established a retreat, and issued from time to time to plunder the Dutch factories. In 1823 these exploits of Rajah Djilolo animated the Governor-General to attempt his capture. Information was

His career.

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[1] Eysinga, *Manuel,* 1821.

[2] Tobias, *Rapport Générale,* 1823.

brought that he had fortified himself at Hating on the northern coast of Ceram, where a number of native war boats had been seen collected. The pirate chief refused to hold an interview with a Dutch commander, fired on the Netherlands' flag, and defied every attempt at negotiation. Two ships were then commissioned to reduce him. They proceeded first to the settlement of Haway, eighteen miles from Hating, where the pirates had their station. A heap of ashes only was found as a memorial that the place had been, and that Djilolo had enjoyed his revenge. Next day the vessels anchored in the bay of Hating. No signs appeared of warlike preparation, and none of an amicable welcome. A boat was sent on shore with a letter, inviting the rajah to come on board with his chief secretary and another person, that he might go to the capital of the Moluccas, and there agree with the Netherlands' government on arrangements which he had hitherto neglected to observe. An hour was allowed him for the preparation of an answer. It passed, and another message was sent. A reply then came that the rajah was away, which was treated as a pretext, because no allusion to his absence had at first been made. The two corvettes immediately opened fire; he with equal alacrity fired in return. A rapid cannonading took place, and the Dutch soon attempted to carry the place by assault; but a deep fosse intervened between them and the walls, so the action continued until night, and was next morning renewed.

His retreat in Ceram.

Shortly, however, upon a simultaneous attack by sea and land the walls were carried, their defenders dispersed, and the pirate settlement obliterated from the spot. In its place a new fort was erected, and left in charge of a small company, for the protection of the harmless aborigines, and to check the marauding system then active along the coast. A desirable end had been

His stronghold attacked.

thus effected. A haunt was rooted out, and the limits of piratical enterprise had been confined; but the formidable Rajah Djilolo had fled to the interior, in the enjoyment of a freedom which could not fail to be a curse on the lives, the liberties, and the possessions of many better men.

A. D. 1825. Flight into the woods.

At the commencement of 1825, the rajah was still free. Flying into the impenetrable woods of Ceram, he maintained a barbarous independence, and levied tribute on the industry of the populations around. To subdue him seemed impossible. His tactics defeated their skill. Negotiation was then applied to secure what arms had failed to achieve. The Dutch sent to him a messenger offering to recognise him as an independent prince of Ceram, if he would acknowledge the protection of their flag. In addition, they promised that if he would accept and abide by this arrangement, his brother, then an exile at Japara, should be brought to Amboyna, whence he should altogether be restored to perfect freedom. Negotiations were immediately opened, and Djilolo appeared inclined to agree, provided he was acknowledged free from all allegiance to the sultan of Tidor, whom he declared to have confirmed a wicked usurpation by a cruel tyranny. At last, it was settled that he should occupy the southern coast of Great Ceram under the protection of the Nertherlands' government, and he then requested as a peculiar favour that authority over himself and his new dominions should be confided to the exiled brother, whom he cared for more than all in the world. That personage, therefore, Prince Asgar, was installed on a Ceramese throne, and the pirate chief became the first in a line of barbarian kings.

Negotiations with him.

His installation as a king.

Fortified settlement in Ceram.

The Dutch continued to hold a fortified position on the coast, at Hating, and the conciliation between them and Djilolo produced an admirable effect among the populations of all that group, where the most poetical charms of nature have been associated with the vilest acts of man.[1]

A. D. 1824. Treaty of 1824.

When the British and the Netherlands' governments in 1824 concluded the important treaty of London, they foresaw that the suppression of piracy was a task, in which both must be interested, and both must be engaged. The stipulations they were making to secure the expansion and the liberties of commerce could not fulfil their aim unless the ancient and destructive system of marauding were effectually assailed. Therefore, a prominent article in the treaty was the fifth:—

Clause respecting piracy.

"Their Britannic and Netherlands' Majesties in like manner engage to concur effectually in repressing piracy in those seas; they will not grant either asylum or protection to vessels engaged in piracy, and they will in no case permit the ships or merchandise captured by such vessels to be introduced, deposited, or sold in any of their possessions."[2]

Efforts of the two governments.

Questions have arisen upon the sincerity of the two governments when they included this clause in their convention. Holland has never fulfilled any great part as paramount authority in the Indian Archipelago, and until 1845 Great Britain allowed Europe with reason to suspect her faith. The efforts of neither were continuous, systematic, or worthy of an imperial power, and, in consequence, piracy flourished on the plunder of a struggling trade. It was not easy, indeed, to eradicate a system to which a great population had for ages looked as the ordinary means of life[3]; but it was nevertheless possible to have effected more than was effected for the defence of that industry which supplied materials of commerce to the Archipelago.

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[1] Tidschrift, vii. 2. Groot.

[2] Art v. Treaty, 17th March, A.D. 1824.

[3] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 204.

Activity of the Dutch.

The Dutch, however, were not entirely inactive. In 1824, negotiations with the princes of Celebes led to a renewal of the Great Bugis contract, one article of which stipulated that vessels, in order to be admitted into Dutch ports, should be furnished with passes, and subjected to the navigation code of the Netherlands' government. A clause of this character was considered justifiable from the state of affairs reported in that part of the Archipelago. Marauding expeditions, it was said, produced incalculable loss to the trade of Makassar. Pirate fleets, to the number of sixty or eighty prahus, might frequently be seen rushing through the Straits of Saleyer, bearing down upon the native boats, and cutting off freighted squadrons, sometimes of twenty well-armed vessels. They continually made descents on those shores, ravaged whole provinces in Bouton, and threatened every year to lay waste, with fire and sword, the beautiful and fertile island of Sumbawa. There were colonies of freebooters at Taboenken and Tobello — the descendants of fugitives from Ternate, Batchian, Tidor, and Ceram, who quitted their native islands from 1780 to 1790, to fly from the troubles in which Dutch misgovernment had involved the whole of that unhappy group.[1] The princes of Tidor and Ternate themselves now engaged by treaty to aid in checking the depredations of these freebooters, descended though they were from former outcasts of their soil.

Continued ravages of the pirates.

Ceramese fleet.

In this year a fleet of sixty-six Papuan or Ceramese pirates appeared off Banjawangi, and threatened also the little isle of Kangeang; fought a gun-boat with success, and escaped from a large Dutch flotilla. Various other coasts and waters were visited by immense swarms of marauders from various directions, and many engagements took place between them and the native cruizers off Java. These, well manœuvred and bravely manned, obtained many successes; but it was not concealed that the structure of the boats was still inferior to those of the buccaneers, which, more lightly built, seemed to fly before the monsoon, which, aided by oars, carried them rapidly along.[1] The conflicts, however, were not only between the pirates and native vessels. One of the most protracted and sanguinary battles on record took place with the transport-ship *Fathel Barie*, carrying a military detachment of 225 men, which was attacked by two prahus, and fought them at close quarters. After a long cannonade, and the loss of many lives, one of the pirate vessels suddenly caught fire, burned rapidly into one roaring blaze, and blew up with a loud explosion. Her crew plunged into the sea, and swam for land, but several were killed as they buffeted with the waves, while the second prahu contrived to escape under a tempest of artillery and musket shots.[2]

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[1] Schelleet Tobias, *Rapport*, 1824.

Conflicts at sea.

Anecdote.

A. D. 1825. European plans.

The Dutch, when the convention of 1824 was concluded, lost no time in professing their desire to fulfil its stipulations. They inquired of Mr. Crawfurd, the British resident at Singapore, whether his government intended to develope a plan for extinguishing piracy, and suggested an union of the two nations in some plan for arriving at that result. They were informed that the question occupied the notice of the British government, and learned that the treaty of 1824 with the princes of Johore, relating to the cession of Singapore, engaged them to prevent their subjects from undertaking piratical enterprises. More than this, however, was essential. Prohibitory decrees never changed the character of any community. It was necessary to encourage in the people a love of industrious pursuits instead of the brigandage which had been their customary means of life. To extirpate the calling appeared a deluding dream. The tribes were wedded to it by hereditary habit, and were unconscious of its base or criminal nature. Inured from immemorial time to dwell upon the seas they rarely sojourned on land, except under necessity, and followed piracy as the favourite occupation of their lives. Thus, to conciliate them seemed a prospect on the horizon, fleeting as it was pursued. To coerce them was not much easier. Expeditions to devastate their country were ineffectual to deter them from retaliating on the defenceless voyager. They suffered no loss in the ruin of a few branch-constructed huts, and their prahus were as easily built as burned. Nothing but a general and unremitting crusade upon their haunts could clear them from coast or sea; but many devices were tried before this conviction was adopted.

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[1] *Batavische Courant*, 1824. G. M.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 235.

Tribes of pirates.

Fishers in the Bornean sea.

In the waters round Biliton and Banka agar-agar and trepang are plentiful. A flotilla of forty or fifty prahus was usually equipped every year by one chief, with others from different islands, and the sea-people found these fisheries a source of profit, as well as an immediate means of life, since they were taken as return cargoes by the Chinese junks which visited Kuala Diu. When, however, the Netherlands' government took possession of Biliton, the Linganese fleet, which, in truth, did not always confine itself to the peaceful enterprise of fishing, made no more its annual visit to that sea. Thus the Orang-laut were cut off

Piratical fishers.

from one of their principal sources of subsistence. To return them this opportunity of an honest life appeared a means of reclaiming many from piratical pursuits. The re-establishment of the fisheries was, therefore, proposed, and in October, 1825, the Panghulu agreed, that every prahu equipped for fishing should carry a passport with a particular seal, to be made use of for no other purpose; that it should be provided with no weapons or instruments except those which were necessary for catching trepang; that ten vessels only, destined for the protection of the whole flotilla, should be exempted from this rule, and the Panghulu, or one of his near subordinates, should be always in command of them. The armament of each should be expressly described in its passport, with the officer's name. A little before the fleet's departure the Panghulu should communicate to the residents of Banka and Biliton, through the Sultan of Linga, the name of the chief appointed to lead the ten war prahus, as well as the probable number of boats to be employed. Every vessel hailed by a Dutch cruizer was to approach or lie to on the first signal, that its papers might be examined. The panghulu, or his deputy, was to be responsible for the conduct of all. The economy of this fishing fleet tended, therefore, to prevent the chance of piracy, and the collection of so many of the sea people together rendered the surveillance of the whole more easy.[1]

Policy of the Dutch.

Maritime regulation.

In this year one of the Java cruizers was battered to pieces by eight pirate vessels, and two Dutch functionaries on board were killed. Several other conflicts took place, traders and fishing boats being captured in different parts of the Archipelago — schooners, brigs, and barques of various sizes, freighted with valuable

Destruction of a Dutch cruizer.
A. D. 1826.

Captures by pirates.

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[1] Angelbeek, *Rapport*, 1825.

cargoes. Instead of shrinking to their haunts under the attacks of the European powers, the pirates became day by day more audacious; they presented themselves with better arms, and collected in more formidable numbers [1], which called for augmented means and increased vigour in those who hoped to check their operations. The brig *Anna* was captured with several other ships, in 1826, and the *Sara Theodora* was only saved by a schooner of war, bringing her broadside to the rescue.[2] Year after year, incidents of the same kind occurred, the narration of which would fill a voluminous work. The result of all the measures adopted by the Dutch from 1816 to 1829, is summed up by their own historian.

The Anna. The Sara Theodora.

A. D. 1829. Results of efforts at repression.

Numbers of vessels belonging to the pirates had been destroyed; their retreats on the north-west coast of Celebes had been extirpated; their haunts in Ceram and the Moluccas had been visited; the piratical enterprises from Matam, on the western coast of Borneo, had been brought to an end; Biliton had been occupied, and a check had been put on the brigandage formerly prevailing in that sea; treaties of alliance, tending to the repression of piracy, had been concluded with the princes of Linga and Rhio, with those of the northern and western coast of Borneo—Banjarmassin, Pontianak, Sambas, Mampawa, Simpang, Matam, and Succadana, with those petty monarchs of Celebes included in the Bugis convention; with the chiefs of Menado, with the kinglings of Ternate and Tidor, in the Molucca group, and finally, with the little potentates of New Guinea—an island swarming with pirates, among the most rude and brutal of the Eastern Ocean.[1] These efforts, indeed, and these achievements failed to secure the liberty of trade and the defence of industry; but it is impossible to predicate what in their absence would have been the influence of the freebooting system on the commerce and civilisation of the Archipelago.

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[1] Melville de Carnbee, *Rapport*, 1826.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 240.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 241.

CHAPTER X.

Feebleness of Dutch attempts to extirpate piracy.

THE feeble and ineffectual endeavours of the Netherlands' government to extinguish that influence which contended with it for paramount rule over the remoter Indian ocean, are recorded by its historians as imperial achievments, admirable as well in their results as in the spirit which conceived them. It is not the task of a narrator to suggest suspicion; it is, indeed, a more graceful office to confess the sincerity of efforts made, and the value of works accomplished. Nevertheless, in comparing the actual effect of Dutch policy with the praises of its own laudators, the truth distinctly appears that magnanimous as may have been the resolution, and energetic as may have been the measures of Holland, she has not performed her share of the duty, which attaches to her power, of clearing from the seas of the Archipelago those marauders whom the common law of nations includes among the general enemies of all mankind. Great Britain, also, has derelicted from her duty as supreme authority among maritime states; but in that quarter of the world her interests and her influence are insignificant, in comparison with those of Holland. Singapore, Pinang, and Malacca — three new and struggling settlements, simple depôts of commerce, and only valuable as the strongholds of trade in a barbarous region, were contrasted with immense and rich possessions in Java, Sumatra, the Spice Isles, Borneo, Celebes, and scattered groups of the Archipelago. Consequently, the efforts of the two nations are not to

Parallel between the British and Dutch possessions.

be measured by an equal standard, for the mistress of Java owed more to the police of those seas than the factors of Singapore.

A. D. 1830.

Since 1830, the Dutch have indeed continued a series of devices for the suppression of piracy; but they have been imperfect in their conception, and in their influence comparatively ineffectual. The cruizers of Java, in that year, were strengthened by a squadron of schooners, and an active war was carried on to spread a salutary fear among the promoters of marauding enterprises. Prahus of various size were built for this crusade, and launched in considerable flotilla, while it was proclaimed that no mercy was permitted to buccaneers, for that every occasion should be seized to inflict upon them a terrible example of retaliatory justice.

Audacity of the buccaneers.

If, however, the enemies of piracy exhibited an unaccustomed vigour, the pirates themselves displayed an increased audacity. In September, 1830, two villages in Banka were sacked, and sixty-three persons carried into slavery. The Lampongs were infested, and many ruins were left as memorials of such visitation. In retribution, numbers of the wretches were captured and exiled to Banda, while a native foray among the Bocaya channels resulted in the seizure of two notorious chiefs, who were condemned to hard labour for the rest of their lives. Sanguinary conflicts took place at Makassar, on the coast of Sumatra, and near Achin, though the depredations from that direction diminished when the Dutch victories in the south were known. In the Straits of Malacca, trade was greatly harassed, and the English made to the Dutch — who had previously made a similar proposal to them, — an overture for union in some plan for cutting up the piratical system. An evasive reply was returned, with strong pro-

A. D. 1831.

Injury to trade.

fessions of anxiety, but the negotiations resulted in no reciprocal assistance.[1]

Treaty with Linga.

With the Sultan of Linga a new treaty was made to provide against the inveterate habit of his people in fitting out enterprises for plunder. It was prohibited to construct vessels of warlike build; the sea-going tribes were forced to give up their prahus for compensation; Prince's Island, in the Straits of Sunda, was offered as a refuge to reclaimed pirates, and the building of boats was encouraged which were adapted solely to commercial ends.[2]

Great freebooting fleet.

While these proceedings were engaging the attention of councils and residents, the vigilance of the cruizers was ineffectual even for the protection of Java. From time to time intelligence reached some settlement that a fleet was on the coast ravaging and pillaging, and capturing the people as slaves; a frigate or a schooner was despatched after them, but they were next heard of devastating the shores of Bali—and a great drifting horde of Lanuns, Alfoerans, Bugis, and Saleyers once hovered for three years among these waters, and never encountered any powerful force of the enemy.[3] The cruizing prahus occasionally fell in with the object of their watch; but the pirates usually eluded their pursuit.

Adroitness of the pirates.

A man of long sight was placed in some lofty part of the vessel, whence he could descry a distant sail, and on giving signal of danger the boat sped away with every oar bent, and every breath of air made use of. But, when closely pressed, the pirate sometimes furls all his sheets, and rows against the wind, which with his light craft and skilful crew is easy, and baffles a sailing vessel altogether.

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[1] Van den Bosch, *Réponse*, 29 Dec. 1831.

[2] Kolff, *Rapport*, 1831.

[3] Alabashay, *Rapport*, 1831.

Anecdote.

In 1831, the boat which went every month to Surabaya, and carried water, provisions, and stores to Fort Orange, was taken near Grissé, by pirates. There were supposed to have been on board an European sergeant, a cadet, an old woman, a child, and some Javan rowers. The sergeant was murdered, and the cadet severely wounded, but this young man had the courage to fling himself overboard, where he clung, unperceived, to the rudder, and was afterwards picked up by fishers from the coast. The pirates having ransacked the vessel, abandoned her, taking away all the remaining company. Some time afterwards the Dutch heard that there was at Galang a woman with a white child, and sent there some agents disguised as petty traders, who were directed to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to buy the captives. Suspicion, however, entered into the minds of the pirates. They feared to be convicted of their brigandage, kept their prisoners a long while, and at last carried them to Rahangu, on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, where they were sold. By the intervention, nevertheless, of an Arab merchant, and of the English resident at Singapore, the woman and the child were, after another interval of six months, recovered.[1]

A woman and child captured.

A. D. 1833. Progress of the war against piracy.

Tracing the record of their devastations from year to year, we discover the pirates in 1832 spoiling the well-disposed communities settled on both sides of the Straits of Banka, and even daring to visit the Bay of Soempang. Skill in manœuvre, and rapidity in flight, were the chief reliances in which they confided, and this suggested to the Dutch the use of small well-armed steamers, that might follow a chase against the wind, or between high banks which lulled a breeze, or through narrow passages where the pirates disappeared, and their enemies dared not pursue. None of these devices, however, could eradicate a system founded in the political institutions as well as in the ancient manners of the Archipelago. Fleets and haunts, sunk or burned, scattered or sacked, were recruited and continually renewed from the sources whence their vital influences sprang. Kingdoms were the inheritances of pirates; and kings their rulers. The Sultan of Ceram was in 1833 convicted of this crime, seized and banished to Java — a hard fate, but only just, as a penalty for the turpitude of his offences. The freebooters of that island had become a pestilence in all the surrounding sea. They sold to the chiefs not only prisoners whom they captured in other regions, but even their own countrymen — the weak and unarmed classes, whom they dragged from place to place, chained in couples, and insulted with all that cruel usage to which an ungenerous barbarian devotes the vanquished in war.

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[1] Decree of Dutch Government, May, 1832.

Robbers of Ceram.

Slavery.

Reclamation of pirates in Celebes.

In other islands conciliatory plans were tried, and in Celebes a tract was chosen to be cultivated for the free use of pirates who consented to abandon their old vocation; numbers of prisoners were released by an expedition to Sunadang; the camp on the Jambi river in Sumatra was broken up[1], and the pirate retreats of Berou and Bulongas on the coast of Borneo were sacked and extinguished, which gave some freedom to the industry of a province supplying to commerce its richest and more precious commodities.[2] While in these quarters they suffered injury, the pirates continued to flourish in the south-east of the Archipelago. Their power insensibly grew, favoured by many circumstances, and their war-boats multiplied over the whole of that sea. Several severe defeats had driven numbers from the coast of Celebes to new haunts remote from the Dutch settlements, where an abundance of sweet, fresh water and convenience for the refit of their vessels tempted them to remain. They found, near the Strait of Allas, the little island of Labuan Badjos, which, little known to the Dutch, offered many advantages as a rendezvous; its fertility, and the commodious anchorage, combined with its secluded pastures to attract their preference, and from this mixed pirate colony grew a formidable nest, which annually swarmed its tribes over the shores of the neighbouring islands.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 319.

[2] Vosmaer, *Rapport*, Nov. 1833.

New haunts.

In illustration of the system which this general view exhibits it is interesting to notice, from time to time, an episode of personal adventure. At the period we are now discussing an incident occurred of which advantage may be taken for this purpose, and few probably will be disinclined to turn from general details to read the story of Alexander Bross, related by himself at Makassar, in September 1834.[1]

A. D. 1833.

In August, 1833, he embarked on board the schooner *Maria Philippina*, Commander Cramer, bound from Makassar to Bali. When near Bali Jolo, the vessel was attacked by a corsair, who, after a conflict brief but fierce, made himself master of her. Some of the company fell in the struggle. Cramer had plunged into the sea, just as the deck was mounted; but was followed by a spear, which mortally wounded him, and he died among the waves. Alexander Bross also, with eight Javan sailors, flung himself into the water; but, wounded in the arm, was unable to swim far, and returned to the schooner, got on board unperceived, at-

Curious narrative of piracy.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 322.

tired himself in native costume, and, though a Makassar Creole, passed for a Muslim, and was spared from the massacre. His disguise favoured him, besides the facility with which he conversed in the dialects of Mandhara, Makassar, and of the Bugis country.

Adventures on board a pirate fleet.

He was forced, however, by threats, to point out the stores of money and merchandise on board the schooner; but gradually winning the confidence of his captors, was at length entrusted with the command of a prahu. Alexander Bross, therefore, familiarised with the economy of a pirate fleet, accompanied several of their expeditions. They equipped a force of no less than 190 vessels, which ravaged the coasts of Bali and Mangary, touching often at a populous little island called Pangaru Bawang. One day they perceived an European ship, and, thinking it was a merchant vessel, spread all their sheets with the hope of capturing an unusual prize. Its hull was painted of a greyish hue, and not black, as in ordinary vessels of war, and its sails were whity-brown, which is never used in the Dutch royal navy except as a disguise.

It was, however, a ship of war — the brig *Merman*, and two broadsides crippled several of the prahus, and killed a good many of the pirates; a third sent three to the bottom, with all the men on board. Flight was then hastily attempted, and it was effected with no greater loss than that of a trader which had been captured the preceding day. Some time after, the fleet in which Bross held a command — then numbering eighty vessels — fell into collision with another fleet, said to be composed of Javanese pirates, for its leaders spoke the language of that island. Their prahus were of the sort called *mayang*, and were bravely manned. The combat lasted four hours, seven prahus being destroyed, when the little armadas parted, each to pursue its adventure of massacre, pillage, and destruction.

The Dutch creole then received from the chief of this roving community, Arab by origin, orders to cruize with some prahus in the Bay of Bima, and lie in wait for merchant craft. He was four days in a kind of maritime ambuscade, when a brig of war was perceived, and the flotilla concealed itself under the woody coast of an island. That danger passed, they again put to sea, took up their old position, captured a rice-boat, and continued cruizing for some time. All this while Bross and his Makassar companions meditated the idea of flight, to escape from a bondage which attached to them the vicarious guilt of piracy. At length he with two others was exchanged by his master for a quantity of opium to a chief of the Saleyer isles. Hence, he ultimately succeeded in flying to Makassar, where he reported that other Europeans were in the hands of the buccaneers.[1]

Bross, in addition to these adventures, had participated in a predatory attack on Bali Bantimoa, where the pirates were repulsed with much loss. He had assisted, too, in capturing, near Kapoposam isle, a Chinese paduakan on board of which were the eight Javan sailors of the *Maria Philippina*, who had plunged with him into the sea. He had seen his companions fish up twenty-six pieces of ordnance, which they had hidden below water on a shoal near Kalatoa, where they repaired their prahus, and six others from a reef near Sumbawa.[2] Thus they deposited their stores of ordnance in different spots in the sea, known only to them, refitted their fleets on lonely banks of sand, secluded themselves from observation among a maze of islets, and passed long seasons without approaching any coast, where a dangerous enemy might encounter them. For provisions and supplies, they depended partly on the fruits of their cruizes, partly on traffic with the native princes and tribes, favourable to their vocations. These friends abounded in every quarter of the Archipelago, and sometimes aided while they professed to attack them. The Linganese of the peninsula, in 1833, fitted out a squadron against the pirates, — a vessel of forty or fifty tons burden, and numerous smaller boats; but this was a mere pretence. The principal stores taken on board were commodities for barter — rice, plantains, cocoa nuts, and other things of which the freebooters stood in need, so that instead of fighting them the chiefs assisted their plans, and received a dividend of their plunder.[1] Few but the Bugis, indeed, have been faithful protectors of trade, for the haunts of pirates flourished in the very midst of the communities which pretended to suppress them. In 1833 a stronghold of them was discovered in the Carimons, and destroyed by a British ship of war. Their depredations had been numerous and bold; but the effect of a severe chastisement was such that no act of brigandage occurred in those waters for several weeks.[2]

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[1] Alex. Bross, *Declaration*, 22 Sept. 1834.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 324.

Account of an escaped prisoner.

A. D. 1834. Episodes of the war.

The adventures of the *Memnon*, the *Janus*, the *Pylades*, and the *Iris*, the capture of a schooner in the Straits of Bali, the destruction of the pirate strongholds on the east coast of Sumatra, with the seizure and execution of several chiefs, were succeeded by an enterprise against Batu Puti and Beras on the eastern coast of Borneo. A corvette, a brig, two schooners, and a number of native vessels, were commissioned to attack those notorious haunts. Unfortunately, the pirates received intelligence, which enabled them to provide against surprise; but much was, nevertheless, effected. Their principal villages and large portions of their fleet were burned, and a great store of fire-arms was carried away. Many native chiefs also, who, until then, had made common cause with the buccaneers, offered their submission, and among them the petty princes of Gunong Tabor, and Bolongan. These little potentates signed treaties and yielded territories, with every act of formal method, and acknowledged the law which bound them to repudiate the practice of freebooting.[1] At the same time, an expedition to the eastern shores of Lampong Bay, on the coast of Sumatra, chastised a number of tribes in amicable intercourse with pirates, and the sultan of Jambi was persuaded into a convention engaging to prohibit the system and eradicate it from his dominions.[2]

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 193.

[2] Ibid. 390.

A. D. 1835.

Continued expeditions, small in their scale and insignificant in their result, added rather to the territorial power of Holland than to the general security of trade. One to Borneo repeated the havoc of the previous year, and a few pirates were induced to forsake their old habits for the practice of honourable industry; but the second period marked by Dutch writers closed on a very indefinite series of achievements. A new fleet of native cruizers had been built; information had been collected by various able men; the project had been conceived of following the pirates to their haunts, and steamers from Europe had been procured for this purpose; the freebooters of Jambi had been dispersed; expeditions had visited the coasts of the Lampongs and the Linga seas, of Celebes and Borneo; while the sultan of Ceram had

Expedition to Borneo.

General results.

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[1] G. *M.* i. 322.

[2] Treaty with Jambi, 1834. Art. 13.

been forced to pay the penalty of his numerous crimes; correspondence on the subject of piracy had been carried on with the British government, whose endeavours were very lax; the project of reclaiming marauders to the pursuit of peaceful industry had considerably advanced, and several islands had been beautified by the culture of men, whose previous delight was to spread along defenceless coasts the terrors of midnight war, and to bury in waste and ruin the houses of a simple and harmless people. Treaties had been concluded with the Sultan of Linga, the Sultan of Succadana, the princes of Gunong Tabor, and Bolongan, and with the sovereign of Jambi in Sumatra. These, indeed, in many cases, were mere compounds of wax and parchment, blotted with diplomatic ink; for the chiefs, ready as they were to sign and seal, dreamed of nothing less than of relinquishing an hereditary calling so lucrative to their petty exchequers. The buccaneering system was perpetuated by the very agents chosen to suppress it. And this was a natural result.

Value of treaties.

Treaties are never observed when it is for the interest of one party to break them; especially when at the commencement they were accepted under intimidation. How long the one would be faithful to the articles, depended on how long the other would enforce them, and the spoil of those wealthy islands was too rich for pirates to forego it, through fear of any distant or contingent danger.

Forced abstinence from piracy.

The Sultan of Linga, among others, was compelled to subject the fishing tribes in his dominions to the jurisdiction of a sea police, to issue passports, and allow to the Dutch an unlimited right of search. Precautions to hinder the equipment of warlike armaments were taken, and rules made for the government of that trading industry, which in defiance of all hostile influences continued to crowd towards the port of Singapore. The

A. D. 1836. Barbarian devices of the Dutch.

formula of passports was most rigid and precise; a code of flags and signals was enforced, with a maritime discipline so strict that the Netherlands' colonists would appear to have derived an inspiration from China or Japan.[1] Stations were made on various little isles as outposts of this system for the administration of the Indian seas, and a scheme of surveillance was then proposed by the Dutch, to be executed by the Sultan of Linga. To compensate him for the expense of these precautions, he was permitted to import annually into Java, free of duty, 2,500 piculs of gambir, the produce of Linga, to be shipped on native bottoms, manned under the prince's direct authority. One exception was made in favour of his ship, the *Angelina*, commanded by a Malay.

Occupying themselves in this manner with plans for securing to themselves the advantages of possessing the noblest islands within the tropics, the Dutch made it a reproach against Great Britain, that she forced no reclamation from the pirates of their influence on the sea. An idea was originated of paying a Straits squadron from the proceeds of a toll on merchant-ships, but the plan was resisted by the commercial community of Singapore, as infringing on their free-trade principle. They would not enfranchise trade from the terror of piracy, by shackling it with fiscal chains; nor indeed was any disposition evinced by the Dutch to promote a mutual enterprise for the general protection of those seas. There was hatred on one hand, and jealousy on the other. No circumstance was propitious to the hope of such a union. The English would not act in concert with the Dutch, nor the Dutch in combination with them; and so while feeble attempts were made to procure an impossible coalition, the scourge continued to range

Neglect of the English.

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[1] *Arrêté*, 22 *Juillet*, 1836

through the Archipelago.[1] The trader was intercepted, the village was burned, the cultivated land was laid waste; death and rapine prolonged the Iliad of that unhappy race's woes, and princes, hypocritical and perfidious, commissioned their fierce and bloody followers to plunder and enslave the industrious and unoffending of the island populations.[2]

Continued spread of the system.

Instead of disappearing before the European flag, every effort to suppress them seemed to draw out new hordes from the breeding-grounds of piracy. Bands of marauders issued from Ende and Mangary in fleets of fifty and a hundred prahus; and between Adinara and Floris, in the straits of Larentaka, were continually encountered large flotillas, said to have come from the latter island.[3] In 1837, 400 Tobello buccaneers were settled in the Isle of Saleyer, and employed in works of agriculture, which brought them into amicable and profitable intercourse with the traders and fishers along that coast; yet no influence seemed effectual to attract the great body of marauders from the excitement and variety of their accustomed mode of life. To sprinkle the narrative with a few instances from the long catalogue on record, we may notice at this date that the opium clipper, *Lady Grant*, manned partly by Europeans and partly by lascars, was attacked in the Straits of Malacca by one prahu, which she succeeded in beating off. The pirate, however, returned with a reinforcement, and it was not without an arduous struggle that an escape was effected.[4]

A. D. 1837.

Instance of piracy.

The William I.

The superb steam vessel, *William I.*, of the Netherlands' royal navy, was in 1837 lost on the reefs of

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[1] See Lieut. Col. J. Low, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 369.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 13.

[3] Tidschrift, *Neerland Indie*, i. 1. 3.

[4] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 82.

Limpara. A boat was sent away to look for aid from Timor or even Java, with a lieutenant, a pilot, and an apprentice, one European seaman, and four native oarsmen. After a dangerous voyage across the sea of Banda, the boat was attacked near Wetter Isle by several Lanun prahus; its occupants were seized, stripped, maltreated, and left naked to pass the night on a bald rock, under the open sky. Rain and cold added to the agonies of their situation, and a strict watch was kept on their movements. When, next morning, they were taken on board a prahu, their condition was not much improved, for all they had to subsist upon was a little maize, so mouldy as to be scarcely eatable. At length, however, they came to an agreement with the pirates, promising them a ransom of 1000 piastres, some quantities of opium, cloth, and toys. Meanwhile, two other prahus arrived upon the scene, and a new consultation took place to decide the fate of the prisoners. Some declared they ought immediately to be put to death; others that they should be carried to Manilla and sold as slaves; but the prospect of a ransom allured them more, and two of the Europeans were despatched to fetch the money. The others remained as hostages, and it was announced that if any ruse were attempted to evade payment of the redemption, these captives should perish by a frightful death. Ultimately, the transaction was effected, and the boat's crew proceeded on their way.[1] About the same time the schooner *Maria Frederika* was captured by the Lanuns.

Barbarity of the Lanuns.

In the next year the schooner *Petronella* was taken by pirates near Tangjong Toeko, on the south coast of Celebes, and the crew and passengers, among whom were three Europeans, were all murdered. In the

A. D. 1838.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 17.

A. D. 1839.

next year, on the 28th of June, the Dutch troops on the eastern coast of Sumatra were attacked by two hundred pirate prahus, and sustained a severe conflict with them[1]—an example sufficient to confute the idea that this pestilent scourge is contemptible and deserves no notice from the masters of the sea.[2] The batteries at Anjer in Java, indeed, an immense circuit, enclosed by thick soft turf walls, were built, not to command the Straits, for their range was too limited, but to defend the inhabitants from piratical attacks.[3] The haunts of these depredators are to this hour in the close vicinity of European settlements, for the freebooter of the Straits, like the Thug of India, knows how to assume the guise of an honest occupation.[4] The Rajah of Rhio, indeed, knows so well, and fears so much the rapacity of pirates, even close to our settlements, that within two or three years he has built a fort expressly for protection against the Lanun rovers.[5]

Formidable character of Indian piracy.

I shall conclude this episodical view of piracy in the Indian Archipelago, by one or two illustrations of it, selected from the numbers which are recorded. When Kolff was at the Tenimber isles, in 1819, he heard that an English vessel had in the previous year arrived at the eastern extremity of Timor Laut. There was sickness among the crew, and the master sent a party on shore to purchase provisions. The brig, in addition to roofing slates and iron, had a cargo of warlike stores, which it was probably intended to smuggle, and this was known among the islanders. They had, indeed, agreed to buy the arms, but were not inclined to pay for that which they could as easily plunder. Accord-

Anecdote.

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[1] Temminck, ii. 259.

[2] *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 254.

[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 9.

[4] Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 15.

[5] J. T. Thompson, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 71.

ingly, they boarded the vessel in immense swarms, and murdered all the people. Of the party on shore all, with the exception of two boys, whom the humanity of some women interposed to save, were killed. The brig was pillaged, hauled on shore, dismantled of its fittings, and burned. Its freight was distributed among the inhabitants, who sold a part to the traders who visited them, while the remainder served as trophies and decorations among the tribes along that coast. At one place the chain cable of the brig was hung round a village, and loaded iron carronades lay close by, the natives never having courage to fire them off.[1]

Anecdote.

An English merchant, who had resided long in Java, embarked at Batavia, some years ago, on board one of his own vessels, a large brig; she was bound to Samarang, and the trader took with him a considerable sum of money for the purchase of produce in the Eastern districts. These facts being reported to a great piratical chief in a neighbouring island, he determined to make a prize, and waylaid the brig near Indramayo. Her crew, consisting of three Englishmen and about thirty Javanese sailors, fought gallantly for some time. Towards evening, however, a dart fired from a musket pierced the merchant's neck, and he fell; confusion followed, and, taking advantage of this, the pirates boarded. The two Englishmen leaped into the sea, and clung to a bamboo fishing buoy, where, while their enemies were intent on plunder, they remained unnoticed, and drifted out of view. Immersed to the neck in water, dreading the sharks, and neither of them knowing whether his companion was alive, they remained all night in horror, but at daybreak were cheered by the voices of some fishermen. These were islanders of Java, who came off at dawn to examine their floats. They asked who the strangers were, consulted among themselves, took them into a boat, and carried them to an European settlement. The narrator of this anecdote believes that had they been Dutch instead of English, their treatment would not have been similar, for the cruizers were hated, and accused of robbing the fishermen.[1]

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[1] Kolff, *Dourga*, 226.

Anecdote.

The chieftain who performed this feat was thought to be Rajah Raga, brother to the Sultan of Koti, in Eastern Borneo. He was a famous buccaneer, and the Dutch frequently went in search of him, but he continually eluded their pursuit. Once, when cruizing with three large prahus, he was attacked by an English man-of-war. Two of his vessels, with their crews, were destroyed; the third, in which he was, escaped. Soon afterwards, he entrusted to a favourite chief the command of his own prahu, carrying more than 150 men, and mounting several large guns. Within a day's sail of Makassar she fell in with a ship of large size, but which, from the colour of the sails and paint, the disposition of the rigging, and general appearance, the pirate took to be a merchantman. An opportunity now seemed open for the chief to distinguish himself by capturing a prize of unusual value. He bore down upon the ship, which, with all her sails set, appeared endeavouring to fly, though she made little progress through the water. At length the buccaneer was within pistol-shot, fired into the chase, and made preparations to board. Then, a line of ports opening along the side of the strange vessel, immediately smote him with dismay. From the disguise of a trader the ship now appeared in all the stately and terrible equipage of war. One broadside rolled from her hull, and she was pursuing her way alone, for the pirate prahu went to the bottom, and left only two or three of her crew to be picked up in some native boats which had hovered near the scene.[1]

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 40.

Sinking of a pirate ship.

From this descriptive and historical sketch some idea may be derived of the extent to which piracy has flourished in the Indian Archipelago, and of the character which it has at various periods assumed. It will be clear also to every mind, that the efforts of European powers during the period we have gone over, were ineffectual to eradicate the baneful influence of this system. And it will be obvious that neither commerce nor civilisation could prosper, while the most wealthy and beautiful islands in that sea were abandoned as the haunt or prey of buccaneers. Consequently we pass by a very natural transition from this chapter of the history to a narrative of Sir James Brooke's career, the salient points of which are his successful efforts to destroy piracy on the coast of Borneo. For, rich as that island is, susceptible of improvement as its people may be, and wide as may be the field laid open there for English enterprise, nothing great could be achieved, nothing of lasting value could be effected, until not only the Lanuns of the eastern, but the Serebas and Sakarran of the north-western coast had been forced to cease their war upon the industry and trade of Borneo. Whatever, therefore, is the interest of Sir James Brooke's proceedings, his attacks on this system form the most important episodes of them; for as the existence of piracy has been the chief curse of the Archipelago, so its extirpation will be the utmost blessing that civilisation can bestow on those wealthy and blooming islands.

Necessity of extirpating piracy.

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[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 48. Also, Moor's *Notices*, 16.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir James Brooke.

No episode in the history of the Indian Archipelago is more interesting or remarkable than the career of Sir James Brooke. The occurrences of ten years are grouped around his name. He has excited the sympathy of Europe with the poverty and oppression of a race, previously excluded from general consideration, has quickened the principles of humanity in one of the most barbarous populations of the East, and since a time which very young men can now remember, has reclaimed the inhabitants of an extensive province from sloth, dependence, and the degradation of savage life, to industry, the peace, and the forms of an infant civilisation.

His splendid achievements.

Great men are usually eminent in comparison with others who have accomplished similar achievements. They travel in the track of thousands who have gone before. So with those who aspire to greatness. There is a pillar or a cloud to guide their hopes, and the very essence of their ambition is to emulate or surpass some master spirit of a former age. A statesman, a writer, a painter, or a soldier, has a model to admire, a predecessor to rival. Sir James Brooke, in the character of his enterprise, is without a parallel. He is in a new field; he has inaugurated an ambition for himself; and in reflecting upon the conduct of his policy, we can never without injustice forget, that he moved by the aid of his own light alone, without example to warn, or the experience of others to direct him. He has pro-

Unique character of his labours.

secuted an adventure, which he originated himself. The ideal of an accidental reverie, conceived during a voyage among the sunny islands of the Indian ocean, has been pursued far towards its realisation, and in this consists the salient and conspicuous characteristic of his genius throughout its whole career.

Their general nature.

The outline of Sir James Brooke's proceedings is remarkable; but the minuter passages resemble episodes of old romance. To visit a neglected world of islands; to establish relations with native kings, to inspire them with respect and friendship for the British nation; to plant a fruitful political influence in parts of the world long abandoned to the Dutch; to strike at an ancient piratical system, which had for centuries oppressed and barbarised the native races; — these were achievements of no common magnitude. To explore, however, a river kingdom in the mighty island of Borneo; to become a friend of the Indian prince; to train and lead a savage army against rebel tribes in the interior; to wander and dwell among wild Dyaks of the forest; to conquer the sultan's enemies; to become a sovereign over a beautiful province with a barbarian population, and to be regarded by these as a father and a friend, whose name is as a word of benediction to their ears; — there is something, I say, in this of chivalry and romance to renew our faith in the genuine and inexhaustible poetry of human life and nature.

Romance of his career.

His family.

James Brooke belongs to an ancient family of competent fortune, not unknown in the history of England. He is descended, in direct lineage, from Sir Robert Vyner, who enjoyed the office of Lord Mayor in London during the riotous and profligate reign of Charles II. The Baronet had one son, who died, leaving no children, when the estate passed to his heir-at-law, Edith, his father's eldest sister, who is lineally represented in the

Lineage.

Sir Robert Vyner.

Rajah of Sarawak. Sir Robert Vyner belonged to Filmer's school; and imagined it virtuous to be prodigal in loyalty, though the sovereign should possess no quality to command respect. He squandered his wealth in serving the dissolute king, and erected a monument to preserve his name, though what virtue this was intended to commemorate it might not be easy to determine.

Sir James Brooke's father.

Birthplace.

Early career.

Sir James was the second, and is now the only surviving son of Thomas Brooke, a civil servant of the East India Company. He was born on the Hooghly in Bengal, on the 29th of April 1803, was sent to England to be educated, went out to India as a cadet, filled several honourable appointments, and was distinguished for his conduct and courage during the concluding episodes of the Burmese war. At the fight near Rangpore on the Brahmaputra, he headed an assault against a formidable line of stockades, received a ball through the lungs, was thanked by the government for his intrepid behaviour, and returned to England to recover his wasted strength. After spending three years in Europe, visiting the scenes of classical romance, and cultivating those accomplishments which rarely grace a man of so adventurous a disposition, he once more embarked for the East. The vessel in which he sailed was wrecked however off the Isle of Wight. He procured another passage; he reached his destination; he proceeded to announce himself ready once more to pursue a career in the ranks of the Indian army; but a fortuitous circumstance had spared him the fate of living and dying in pursuit of military fame — so far below the trophies he has achieved — though to be sought in a region which has given laurels to some among the most illustrious of the English nation.

Burmese war. Wounded.

Returns to Europe.

The long delay caused by his shipwreck had prevented him from returning to India within the limit of time for which his leave of absence had been granted. Military law takes no circumstances into consideration. Involuntarily or not, he had failed to reach his quarters within the period assigned. His commission, consequently, lapsed. A long and tedious correspondence between India and England would undoubtedly have restored it to him; but a protracted negotiation, so repulsive to an eager mind, when the point at issue is within the compass of a single moment's reflection, deterred him from seeking to reinstate himself in the position he had accidentally vacated. It was to him — and not to him only — a providential loss. That occurrence led him first to the gates of a beautiful and neglected region, which he has since made the field of his genius and the object of his enlarged and liberal philanthropy.

Loss of his commission.

He left India, continued his voyage up the China ocean, saw the innumerable and unrivalled islands of the Archipelago scattered in fanciful profusion and stately grandeur over the waters of a bright and tranquil sea, read the narratives of old voyagers, and realised in his own mind the enthusiasm and rapture inspired in those fathers of discovery, by the beauties and variety of that unparalleled region. He searched for accounts of their inhabitants, their resources, their social condition, and convinced himself that a great and beneficent and self-rewarding enterprise might be carried on in that quarter of Asia. Prominent amid the information gathered from every source was the truth that piracy and the slave-trade combined to exert a barbarising influence over the whole population; that the native governments were imbecile and cruel; that the native races were feeble and oppressed; that the Dutch exercised their power for little more than

First visit to the Archipelago.

Its beauty.

Information collected.

the promotion of their own mercantile gains, and that unless some new and more beneficent influence sprang up in the Archipelago, anarchy and servitude would be perpetuated there for ever, and one of the grandest regions of the earth be lost alike to industry, commerce and civilisation.

Anarchy of the island.

Brooke's design.

A singular and chivalrous design was then conceived. Mr. Brooke returned to England, and projected more than one plan for the realisation of his ideal hope. Many circumstances combined to foil and disappoint him. Once in association with a gentleman who appreciated the grandeur of the enterprise, he equipped a brig and visited again the China seas; but that endeavour failed. Again he came to this country, waiting for a time to arrive when he should be able to prosecute his plans alone. Succeeding, on the death of his father, to a considerable fortune, he renewed his project, and continued to trace out plans for its development, until once more armed with confidence he determined on a new expedition.

Failure.

Sails for Borneo.

The perseverance inspired by ardent and faithful zeal enabled him in October 1838 to sail from England on the prosecution of the enterprise to which he had dedicated the remaining energies of his life. Long preparation and diligent inquiry had thrown a light before him over the region he was about to explore, which enabled him with prescient and provident caution to choose his way. A vessel well-tested, a crew well trained, a mind well stored with all that a calculating and long-sighted genius could recognise as essential to success, allowed him to face without timidity the obstacles and dangers which evidently would present themselves in his way.

His vessel.

Voyage out.

A schooner, therefore, — the *Royalist* — with a burden of 142 tons, and a crew of twenty men, left England on the 27th of October 1838. Belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron, she might claim in foreign ports the privileges of a man of war, and might hoist a white ensign at her peak. She was a fast sailer, and with her company had been tested during a trial trip of two years among the seas of Europe, when Mr. Brooke delighted in haunting the chosen seats of poetry and fable, from Ithaca to Troy. An armament of half a dozen six-pounder guns, a number of swivel pieces, small arms of all kinds in abundance, four boats, stores and provisions for four months, were provided for the contingencies of the enterprise. The crew were young, able-bodied, active, and attached to their commander, who succeeded in raising the character of many, and connecting some to himself by links of gratitude, affection, and respect. More than ordinary precautions were required. The adventure was one accompanied by no small or common risk. It was not an expedition fitted out by the state, in which every man is answerable to the government for his fidelity and obedience to the leader. It was a private undertaking, the conductor of which could exercise over his followers no other than a personal influence. Nor was Mr. Brooke carrying with him the authority of the empire in any negotiations he might project with the native princes of the Archipelago. Of his own choice he went, and at his own peril. But there was enthusiasm to impel, and a grateful prospect to lead him forward, so that when the *Royalist* sailed down the river she was freighted with confidence, zeal, and hope.

Precautions.

Arrival in the Archipelago.

Early in May, 1839, the schooner passed Java Head, through Prince's Straits, and glided into Anjer Roads, on the confines of the Indian Archipelago. There the invariable sight described by the old navigators presented itself in harmony with the natural scenes expanding to the view on every point of the horizon. Scenes at sea. The canoes, crowded with articles for traffic; the loquacious swarms of natives; the tropical productions offered for barter; the lake-like serenity of the sea; the varying and gleaming tints of verdure on the slopes that rose from the shore to the interior of Java, with an atmosphere perfectly lucid above, though glowing near the water as with a purple haze; all these sights and sounds burst on the fancy of the voyager with an effect like that produced on the old Spanish explorer when he stared at the Pacific: —

> "Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

Singapore. Thence the schooner proceeded to Singapore, the cradle and centre of the liberal commercial system introduced by Sir Stamford Raffles into the Archipelago. There Mr. Brooke remained for nearly two months, reducing his purpose more to a plan, and inquiring into the prospects and capabilities of the different countries which lay around open to the energies of an adventurous mind. Originally, his design was more diffusive and ranged over many of the islands; but he now resolved to restrict his researches for a time to the north-west coast of Borneo. Towards the end of July, the *Royalist* sailed on her course towards that immense and mysterious insular region, whose depths might contain great kingdoms and whole treasures of undiscovered wealth, as well as tribes, manners, and beliefs hitherto unknown to the rest of mankind. The province of Sarawak, on the north-west coast, was the destination fixed upon.

Sarawak. Sarawak was a principality attached to the Sultanate of Bruné, or Borneo Proper, in the great island of that name. It was usually governed by three datus, natives of the province and Makota; but the sultan's uncle, Muda Hassim, was then reported to be rajah, and for him Mr. Brooke carried in the schooner a variety of presents,—gaudy silks from the old emporium of Surat; scarlet cloth, which is the pride of savage vanity; stamped velvet, gunpowder, confectionary, preserved ginger, jams, syrups, and toys of China, besides a quantity of coarse nankeen, to circulate instead of money. He was provided with letters from the government of Singapore to the native prince, explaining the friendly objects of the voyage, and exhorting him to behave with courtesy and kindness towards the English gentleman and his companions. An address and a gift were also forwarded to him, recognising his generous conduct towards the equipage of an English vessel lately wrecked on the bar at the mouth of his river. Nor were these all the provident measures adopted. Eight stout Malays were added to the crew, that the element of force might not be wanting in any contingency of danger.

Politics.

Arrival off Borneo.

On the 1st of August, the *Royalist* anchored under the coast of Borneo. Mr. Brooke, as soon as wind and tide allowed, proceeded up the Sarawak river, anchored abreast of the town of Kuching, and, sending a boat to announce his arrival, speedily received by a special envoy — a chieftain of rank — a complimentary message, with an invitation to proceed. He immediately visited the prince in his capital of Sarawak. That province was then in arms against the sultan, driven to revolt by the oppressive system of government pursued, and Muda Hassim, the rajah, and uncle of the reigning sovereign of Bruné, had come from the capital to quench the rebellion. His attention was thus occupied, and his mind much agitated; for Oriental despots forgive any offence in their ministers rather than want of suc-

First intercourse with the rajah.

cess. Nevertheless, he received his visitor, not only courteously, but with an amicable welcome; and it soon became a whispered rumour that he desired him to remain, that the insurgent tribes might be humbled; for the intelligence that an Englishman in an armed vessel was come to take up his residence, could not fail of producing such an effect. Nothing, however, was openly expressed, though the rajah exhibited every desire to impress his guest with a favourable opinion of his hospitality. When Mr. Brooke first asked permission to travel to some of the Malay towns, and make excursions among some Dyak tribes, it was given without reserve, except that some places were pointed out as unsafe.

Exploring of the country.

Our countryman, therefore, immediately began his observations on the people and the country: he visited the interior of Samaraham, noticed the manners and condition of the aboriginal race; examined what natural resources presented themselves to his attention; cultivated a friendly understanding with the chiefs of tribes, and qualified himself for further enterprise in Borneo by the profitable use he made of his first opportunity. Every inquiry was carried on in reference to what was now the favourite purpose of his life, though the actual prospect offered no glimpse of the career which he was afterwards to pursue as inheritor of the rule of the Malay prince in Sarawak. After these tracings of the rivers and woods, he returned to the town and prosecuted his researches into the temper and inclination, not only of the rajah, but of the inferior chiefs. One, especially, was introduced to him — the Pangeran Makota. He was remotely related to Muda Hassim, and pretended to govern the province vicariously until that prince returned to the court of the sultan. His policy, in combination with the traditionary system

Investigations.

Transactions at Sarawak.

of oppression, had galled the poor Dyaks to revolt. A plain, intelligent man, with a good-humoured appearance and easy manners, he dissimulated a character educated to intrigue and deception. He spoke readily of commercial transactions, alluded to the English and to the Dutch, who had already asked for permission to trade, and offered assistance at the mines; said the country was rich in resources; pointed out its various products, and seemed to appreciate the value of an enterprise for the development and invigoration of industrial pursuits among the population.

Intercourse with the rajah.

When the rajah himself conversed on this subject, Mr. Brooke described frankly his own position, and the views he held. He said he was a private gentleman, not individually interested in the transaction of trade; that he was not connected with the government of Singapore, or authorised in any way to act for them; but was proceeding simply at his own risk, as a person with whom the rajah might deal according to the course he considered most wise. Bruné, he said also, was the last independent or powerful kingdom left to the scattered and broken race of the Malays, which had, he candidly admitted, conserved its independence by refraining from political intercourse with Europeans — intercourse which had brought ruin on so many governments in Asia. By trading, however, with white merchants, the capabilities of the country would fructify in increased production, and the treasuries of the prince be filled from the prosperity of the people. Sarawak was naturally a rich province; merchants would be glad to procure its bees' wax, birds' nests, rattans, antimony ore, and sago, for which they would pay in articles most prized by Malays — gunpowder, muskets, and cloths. For his own nation he desired no exclusive privileges, no haughty licence of undivided

Brooke's explanation of his views.

trade; but for every people liberty to visit the port and carry on friendly and profitable communication with the inhabitants. To all this the rajah listened with polite, if not deferential attention; and though many points for argument were raised, he appeared favourably impressed by the general tenor of the conversation. Towards the end of September, Mr. Brooke concluded his first visit to the native court of Sarawak; left it with every encouraging anticipation, and amid all the external shows of friendship. Salutes were fired, signals of amity were interchanged, and the last words of the rajah were, "Tuan Brooke, do not forget me."

The rajah's conduct.

Mr. Brooke then visited several places on the coast, ascertained their capabilities, tried the disposition of the people by different means, and saw unmistakable evidences of the piratical system. Indeed, an attack from the roving Sarebas Dyaks, continually prowling along those shores in quest of plunder, formed an animating incident in the voyage,—the assault being made on one of the native boats accompanying the *Royalist*, under the command of a chief. Mr. Brooke then visited Sarawak again, was feasted with sumptuous hospitality by Muda Hassim, and gratified by the cordial inclination evinced by the rajah to cultivate a mutual friendship. The province, however, distracted as it was by civil strife, which prolonged itself through the intrigues and timidity of the native chiefs, offered little inducement to remain. Trade could not be established while war was clearing the waters of every fisher's skiff; industry could not be quickened while alternate rage and panic absorbed the spirit of the population; civilisation, even in its first seminal form, could not be introduced while a bloody struggle was continuing to which every savage practice added a new horror, and every savage passion a new flame. Therefore our countryman quit-

Pirates.

Civil war in Sarawak.

Misery of the country.

ted the river, in the hope that a few months would restore to Sarawak that repose in which alone it could receive and feel the genial influences of humanity. Spending the interval of half a year in excursions in the beautiful island of Celebes he familiarised himself with the institutions, manners, and politics of the various states and settlements amid which it is divided. Strange reports were circulated among the people as to the nature of his designs against the privileges of the chiefs and the independence of the people. Contagion, it was said, emanated with virulent power from the strangers' persons, and hundreds died wherever they set foot on land. Nevertheless, though these wild rumours flew from coast to coast, he succeeded in planting a good impression of himself and his countrymen in those parts of Celebes which he was fortunate enough to explore.

Visit to Celebes.

Rumours of his plans.

On his second visit to Sarawak, about the end of August, 1840, Mr. Brooke enjoyed a cordial reception. Chiefs and people united to welcome him with acclamations of delight. He found the civil war unabated; the inhabitants in the same position, and armed bands of the insurgents assembled at several places within thirty miles of the town. The rajah continued still undecided, though loud asseverations were circulated that one great blow was preparing to put an end to the conflict without delay. Holding Sarawak as a principality under Bruné, Muda Hassim had received an envoy from the sultan, to preside over some more energetic operations, and had in this manner been stimulated from his Lethean indolence. A mixed army of Malays and Dyaks was levied to attack the rebellious tribes in their own strongholds, at Siniawan, some distance up the river, where they had intrenched themselves in a formidable position.

Second visit to Sarawak.

Politics of Borneo.

Again Mr. Brooke conceived that any good design could little be promoted by remaining there while this savage and fruitless conflict was going on. He therefore mentioned to the prince the subject of his approaching departure. But the rajah prayed him to stay, promised a speedy end of the war, declared himself deceived and betrayed by his chiefs, said that if the Englishman left him he should have to remain at Sarawak all his life, struggling against the arts of intrigue and the animosities of faction. He appealed to every generous sentiment, whether it would not be cruel to desert him then. Mr. Brooke consented to join the army, and offer his advice to the leading chiefs. He started for that purpose; but found a confused cabal of selfish, jealous, and cowardly braggarts, who had no policy of their own to pursue, and would accept none from any adviser. Politics were so disorganised, parties so unprincipled, that no chance appeared left of ever introducing into Sarawak the arts of peace or the amenities of civilisation. He must quit the country. All things conspired to support this resolution. He had not made a friend in Muda Hassim, without exciting enemies, the spontaneous growth of envy, in the favour of a prince. Already a faction headed by Pangueran Usof, an influential and unscrupulous chieftain at Bruné, endeavouring to ruin the rajah, was suspected of a design to procure the assassination of his English guest.

The rajah prays him to remain.

Resolves to leave the island.

When, however, he again announced to Muda Hassim his resolution, the countenance of the Malay visibly changed; he betrayed every sign of sorrow and disappointment. Mr. Brooke assured him that if any chance existed of the struggle being speedily brought to a close he would remain. Then his face brightened. He said there was all reasonable hope; our countrymen con-

Persuaded to stay.

sented to stay a few days longer until information was collected as to the prospects of the war. He determined to join the rajah's forces as a spectator, if not a participator in the campaigns — partly to satisfy his curiosity, partly to stimulate the activity of the people. The sultan's cause appeared to him undoubtedly just and righteous; but he desired, nevertheless, to ameliorate the condition of the rebels in the case of their sustaining a defeat. So dilatory, timid, and unsettled, however, were the councils of the leading men that he returned once more to the town, saw Muda Hassim, explained to him that it was useless to remain, and expressed his resolve to go.

Wretched conduct of the war.

New resolve to depart.

The prince was in despair. He assumed an attitude almost of abject supplication. He offered to give Mr. Brooke the country of Siniawan and Sarawak, if he would only stay, and aid him in his extremity of need. Our countryman now first saw the first glimpse of that prospect which afterwards expanded into so beautiful a design, and encouraged him to cultivate a barbarous population into a race of peaceful, industrious, and amiable tillers of the soil, miners, fishers, and merchants. The grant might on the spot have been obtained; but an act imposed by necessity, or suggested by an impulse of gratitude, was not desirable to Mr. Brooke. He knew the rajah was in distress, but could not know that he was sincere, and felt also that there was little virtue in signatures or seals to bind the faith of a half savage Asiatic chieftain. Saying he would deliberate upon the proposition, he again consented to join the army, and took thenceforward a lead in the civil war. European tactics and weapons, with European courage and decision, speedily prevailed against the rude defences and imperfect organisation of the enemy. Poor was the spirit of the rebel, as of the royal forces; and fourteen

Again persuaded to remain. Offer of Sarawak to Brooke.

Joins the royal army.

Englishmen with one bold young Lanun chief, charging across a rice-field, routed the whole insurgent host, which scattered itself in confusion, derangement, and dismay. Their leaders then offered to capitulate if the white stranger would guarantee their lives; but this he had not the prerogative to do, and refused, when they consented to surrender for life or death to the representative of the sultan. The victorious Englishman then ordered them to burn all their stockades, which they did, delivering up their arms, and relying on him alone for protection from the cowardly fury of the Chinese and Malays, who, when they were defenceless, would have rejoiced in the permission to massacre them all.

Submission of the rebels.

Saves the prisoners' lives.

Mr. Brooke then went to the rajah, to plead for the lives of the prisoners, who had yielded themselves into his hands. It was a trial of firmness on either side, the one soliciting, the other refusing an important favour — the humanity of an Englishman contending with the natural implacability of an Oriental. The prince urged, logically according to Malay law, that the rebels had forfeited their lives, as a necessary sacrifice to secure the future peace of the country, and asked whether in England any leniency would be shown to men who had taken up arms and shed blood in an attempt to overturn the authority of the government. Mr. Brooke answered that he was reluctant to have the life of a defeated enemy taken; that he felt ashamed of having aided in capturing them for execution, however involuntarily, and that a merciful policy was assuredly most advantageous in the end. He acknowledged that the rebels owed their lives for the expiation of their crime; that their offences had been of a heinous and unpardonable nature, and that only from so humane and magnanimous a prince as Muda Hassim could clemency be hoped. The concession of forgiveness was at length yielded, and mercy for once tempered the habitual character of an Oriental judgment. The rebels' lives were spared; their women were taken as hostages; their population was dispersed; their city was burnt to the ground; the chiefs sought occupation in other places; the poor people waited for the harvest, and a Chinese colony was established where Siniawan had lately stood.

CHAPTER XII.

Influence of Mr. Brooke at Sarawak.

MR. BROOKE'S next care was to consolidate his influence at Sarawak. He was appointed the official resident at the court of the rajah, and started for Singapore, though much solicited to stay. At Singapore he purchased the schooner *Swift* of ninety tons, freighted her, and sailed again for Sarawak, which he reached early in April, 1841. Muda Hassim, who had spontaneously offered and promised him the government of the country, was an indolent man, of feeble mind, and surrounded by cowardly, treacherous, and cunning intriguers, who exerted themselves, with every device of malignity, to thwart and foil the English stranger. His influence excited their jealousy, and the prospect of his accession to the government darkened the hopes of corruption and injustice.

Malay intrigues.

Position of Mr. Brooke.

The position of Mr. Brooke was singular; but it was honourable. This it is necessary clearly to understand, for malice is ingenious in misrepresentation. When he returned to Sarawak for the second time in August, 1840, it was with the intention of remaining there only a few days, on his route towards the north, where a more promising field of operation appeared to offer. The miserable situation of Muda Hassim, however, touched his feelings; he was fervently entreated not to go away, and he consented to remain. The rebellion, which the rajah had come from Bruné to quell, had during four years spread terror and anarchy through the province; the insurgent tribes had defied every attack, and given a disgraceful defeat to every force

His conduct.

equipped against them. Muda Hassim's direct followers were few; his allies continued to elude or refuse his requisition for aid; his enemies at the capital actively exerted all the arts of faction to neutralise his endeavours. They hoped in his failure to discover a pretext for agitating in the councils of the sultan a plan for his overthrow.

Position of the rajah.

The rajah, therefore, humiliated by failure, disheartened by intrigues, yet resolute in his purpose of confounding the Bruné factions, found himself depending on a stranger's aid. The false pride of independence, no longer able to maintain itself, long checked in his breast an impulse to lay these troubles before Mr. Brooke: despair, however, at length induced him to succumb. He confessed the difficulties surrounding him, prayed for assistance, and declared that he would die there, desolate and ashamed, rather than announce himself unable to crush the rebels. Then, he added, could Mr. Brooke, as an English gentleman, who had been his friend, and confessed the goodness of his heart, desert him, and leave him to the treason of his false friends, and the machinations of his implacable enemies.

Summary of the proceedings.

Mr. Brooke once more consented. He joined the rajah's army — a besieging force scarcely superior numerically to the insurgent tribes, which had hitherto effectually defended themselves behind immense stockades. Within ten days the disheartening influences, which rose against the former endeavour, were renewed in additional power. Some in the camp were too timid to fight; some were too treacherous to fight; others were indifferent to the rajah's cause; others intrigued with the rajah's enemies. The Englishman's mind revolted from this mingled display of cowardice, carelessness, and turpitude. He found no prospect of good among leaders who opposed all advice, and troops too indolent to obey any command. The Chinese alone seemed ready to assist in active operations; but they with justice refused, few and inefficiently armed as they were, to lead a forlorn hope for the Malays, who would not even follow where they fought. He therefore left the scene of war, where a few savage heroes contented themselves with skulking in the woods, and glutting their steel with the silent and inglorious blood of some defenceless woman, and returned down the river to his vessel. He saw Muda Hassim. He said with explicit candour, that it was impossible to conduct operations among men who would originate no plan themselves, nor accept directions from him. The prince again entreated him with every importunity to stay, exhausted every reason, urged every plea, promised every aid, and to add to the prospect of success the hope of reward, offered Sarawak with its revenues and trade as the price of success. Whether the rajah enjoyed the prerogative to dispose of the country, was a question on which it was necessary to be perfectly informed; but subsequent inquiries dissipated all doubt on the subject. The grant offered included the government and revenues of the province, with a slight deduction to acknowledge the supremacy of the sultan. Muda Hassim also promised that one of his brothers should reside with Mr. Brooke, to compel the obedience of the people. These proffers were not only freely but spontaneously made.

Bornean warfare.

The rajah's offers.

His rights.

Moderation of Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke might on the spot, without the intervention of another hour's delay, have obtained a document to formularise and confirm the grant. Averse, however, from turning an accidental influence to an undue advantage over the native prince, he reflected also, that a written agreement might have been simply a barren bond which he possessed no ability to enforce. Many difficulties, besides, appeared to rise in prospect, between the ratification of the cession itself and the power to create from it any system advantageous to the people or honourable to himself. Consequently a sealed paper, signed in dubious sincerity, seemed to promise no security against failure, disappointment, and delusion.

His behaviour.

Our countryman, therefore, replied that while the civil war was pending, he could not accept the rajah's offer; but that he would, if invested with authority to command, go up the river and conduct a campaign against the rebels. Muda Hassim assented, promised every aid, treated the new leader of his forces with distinguished respect, and Mr. Brooke brought the war to a rapid and fortunate conclusion. The negotiations about the transfer of the government were then renewed, and the Englishman explained to his native friend the difficulties of the undertaking. He told him that all the existing Malay governments were so bad, that the rich were permitted so much licence, and the poor were so tyrannically used, that any attempt to administer affairs without ameliorating the general system, would be a vain and futile endeavour. The grounds on which he would accept the proposition were,—that the rajah must employ all his exertions to establish and ratify the principle that no man, however great, was unjustly to deprive of anything, any other, however humble; that the produce of all men's labour was to constitute their sure reward, except during those seasons in which they were employed to labour for the revenues of the state; instead of the prevailing system, by which no regular plan was established; for the rajah enriched himself by taking what he pleased, and the chiefs impoverished the people by taking what they could. He required also that the amount of the revenue should be fixed and invariable for three years, at a stated quantity of rice per family, in lieu of which

Reflections on Malay administration.

Stipulations for reform.

Plans of amelioration.

—should the individual prefer it—he might pay in money or labour, the relative price of the grain to money or labour being previously fixed at as low a rate as possible;—that the functionaries of the principality, the Patingi, Bandar, and Tumangong, should receive stated salaries out of the revenue in order to prevent the chance of any extortion by themselves, or in their name, and that they were to be answerable for the whole revenue, under the superintendence of the new governor. The Dyaks were, in treatment, to be placed on an equality with the Malays, their property protected, their taxes fixed, and their labour free. This, he explained, was a task of multiplied and varied difficulty, which only the power of Muda Hassim could achieve. No obedience could be anticipated from the population to a stranger on their soil, an alien from their blood, an infidel to their religion, unless that stranger possessed the most unqualified confidence with the most cordial support of the native prince. There were many doubtful chiefs to conciliate, many stubborn enemies to coerce. The principle among the inferior nobles was that each man should intrigue for himself, while the poorer people formed a common resource for avarice, extortion, and fraud. The active hostility of opponents therefore, combined with the inertness of others not unfavourable to Mr. Brooke, seemed to threaten an accumulation of obstacles in his way.

Actual government of Sarawak.

Reply of the rajah.

To the reasoning of the Englishman the native prince assented; but he qualified his acquiescence with conditional terms. The laws, the customs, and the religion of the country must not be insulted or infringed,—a stipulation consonant with the conservative practice of conceding the principle of reform, but refusing to innovate in any degree. The violence, however, and the usury of the rich, with that variation in fiscal burdens

Apology for abuses.

which encouraged the oppression of the poor, did not emanate from any authority in the written code of Borneo. They were excrescences growing out of a feeble, which is always a vicious, administration. The wish of the rajah was to witness these beneficent reforms; his intention was to aid sincerely in their development, and especially to distribute more justice and diffuse more happiness among the spoiled and maltreated Dyaks. Thus there appeared a sympathy of desires and an unity of design between them. Muda Hassim, therefore, professed exceeding delight in the prospect which seemed to dawn over Sarawak, and agreed to yield its government to Mr. Brooke. When, nevertheless, he wrote out the agreement, one suspicious symptom was displayed. The document simply announced that Mr. Brooke had received the privilege to reside at Sarawak, in order to seek for profit. When he explained to the rajah that such an instrument was intrinsically of no value, Muda Hassim said he must not think this was to be understood to mean the convention actually contracted between them, but merely one for the sultan to peruse — though to him, also, a new treaty would afterwards be presented. There was in the act, as well as in the apology, much of an equivocal colour, but Mr. Brooke was not disposed to contest terms at the commencement of such a negotiation. He agreed to consider the settlement arranged, and moreover to buy a vessel and bring her to Sarawak for trade, because, unless a ship began regularly to visit the river, no chance existed that the resources of the province would be fairly or with facility developed. Antimony ore, it was said, abounded, and a great accumulation of it would be prepared in anticipation of his return. A house was also to be built; and the Englishman remained three months away. He purchased the *Swift*

Suspicious conduct of the rajah.

Equivocal document.

Agreement with Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke's risk.

schooner for the great price of 5,000 dollars, laded her with a costly freight, and ventured, indeed, a small fortune in dependence on the faith of Muda Hassim.

Bad faith of the rajah.

On his return to Sarawak he was received with the usual salutes, and every honour was added to his welcome. But there was no habitation prepared, nor was it without long and wearisome solicitation that a commodious dwelling was erected on the banks of the river. There was no ore collected, or any sign of an intention to collect it. This, though among the first, was not the most flagrant act of ill faith committed.

Expenditure on his account.

His promises.

His procrastination.

His avarice.

In August, with the schooners *Royalist* and *Swift* at Sarawak, Mr. Brooke found himself with a formidable monthly expense, which he was naturally anxious to abate from some return of the heavy sums he had risked on the rajah's account. He was assured that 6000 piculs of antimony ore were prepared, and would speedily be down the river, and that any quantity might be obtained provided workmen were employed to extract it. This was notoriously true, for the pangeran Makota had loaded a ship, a brig, and three native vessels within six weeks. Consequently there was no colourable plea for the procrastination which tortured the patience of Mr. Brooke, wasted his resources, and disorganised his plans. The rajah begged that the cargo of the *Swift* might be landed; and as that vessel was leaky, he obtained the favour. The Englishman gave way to the solicitations of the Malay. The freight was confided to Muda Hassim's charge, confidence without limit was placed in his honour, and the whole was disposed into his hands with every mercantile formality. He himself stood by while every article was received and catalogued in a regular account Every hour from dawn till dark was occupied by the process, and a valuable cargo was passed from the possession of

Mr. Brooke who sold, into that of the rajah who bought it; but one half of the mutual convention remained unfulfilled, for no payment was made, nor was any guarantee for payment given.

His ingratitude.

Indolent and ungrateful from the first, the prince now became indifferent to the whole transaction. He had been saved from ruin by the defeat of the rebels; his palace had been filled with new riches; and he was equally disposed to forget both, for his own wishes were entirely fulfilled. Meanwhile the craft and duplicity of Makota were exercised to turn this temper to the injury of Mr. Brooke. No sign appeared of any intention to acknowledge the debt which had been contracted; but, on the contrary, every inclination to renounce the burden of gratitude and to evade the commercial engagement. Nevertheless, Mr. Brooke was averse from suspecting a man who had never yet deceived him, who had behaved with integrity and spoken with candour. Yet the evidence of actions could not be doubted. He was completely put aside. No antimony was brought; no measures were adopted to work the mines; no allusion was uttered to the amount stipulated for in the treaty; promises were poured thickly into his ear; but all his proposals were disregarded, and it was with obvious reluctance that the rajah listened to any remarks on the means for the political and social advancement of the country. Delays, excuses, evasions — all the resources of Oriental chicanery, covered over with the flowers of politeness and courtesy — were employed to resist the simple requirements of justice, — wasting the very quality of patience by abuse of its enduring power.

Intrigues against Mr. Brooke.

Faithless conduct towards Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke's remonstrances.

Mr. Brooke, forbearing to fling any invectives or threats against the rajah, remonstrated incessantly. His fortune was wasted; his abilities were fruitless; his plans in abeyance, because the promised resources were withheld. The poor women taken as hostages at the time of the rebellion were kept in captivity, as they had been for nearly five months, though he guaranteed the peace of the country if they were released. Nothing was offered in return but promise and profession, renewed in eternal repetition, until the Englishman could only consider himself deluded, plundered, and betrayed. The rajah, in addition to his other engagements, had agreed to allow no piratical excursions within his territories. Scarcely, however, had Mr. Brooke located himself in his newly finished house, than intelligence was brought that an overwhelming swarm of Dyaks, accompanied by numerous Malays, was about to sweep up the river, declaring themselves about to attack some hostile tribe in the far interior, but in reality to ravage and slaughter in the villages and lands of every defenceless community on the way. Upwards of a hundred war prahus, with more than 2500 men, had been in the river a week begging permission to carry out the expedition. Assurance upon assurance had been given that no licence would be yielded to their bloody design; but the fleet was allowed to start within sight of the Englishman's habitation.

The rajah's reply.

A fleet of Dyak pirates.

Irritated by this flagrant offence against the faith of treaties, Mr. Booke left his house, went on board the *Royalist*, and despatched a messenger to know whether Muda Hassim had granted permission to those Malays and Dyaks to prosecute their piratical enterprise. The prince denied all complicity in the transaction, threw the whole blame on Makota and the Orang Kaya de Gadong, and, pretending to be ill, refused to be seen. Nevertheless, he added, they who had given the order might rescind it, which Mr. Brooke insisted should be done. The expedition was, therefore,

The projected ravages prevented by Mr. Brooke.

countermanded; the flotilla was recalled to its moorings; the Englishman remained on board his ship; the rajah secluded himself, in sullen wrath, within the walls of his harim. It was evident he had given the permission, which he now felt compelled to withdraw, since no one else had authority to do so; but as he had denied it there was an avenue open to reconciliation.

Policy of Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke then announced his intention of proceeding to Bruné within three days, and of despatching the *Swift* to Singapore with 750 piculs of antimony ore, which had by this time been put on board. When the rajah heard this he forgot his pretence of malady, proposed an interview, and arranged to meet his friend on the following day. Meanwhile Mr. Brooke seriously considered the position in which he now found himself placed.

His rights in Sarawak.

He had expended much time, spent much money, risked his own life, with the lives of his companions, and made great exertions to assist the rajah Muda Hassim. In return for this the rajah had offered him the administration of Sarawak. The conditions had been fairly discussed and mutually understood. Our countryman, on his part, had purchased the ship, and brought the cargo, with little view to profit, because he was not a trader by predilection, for the furtherance of his original design. Then he was deluded by lying promises and hypocritical professions; he was delayed, deceived, and now amply justified in extorting by force what the laws of honour had been ineffectual to insure. Since, however, indolence, and not baseness, might have actuated the rajah, and since it might be possible to procure a return of, or an equivalent for, the rich cargo of the *Swift*, principle and prudence together suggested that more forbearance should be tried before coercion was employed. This, however, was only

His treatment.

Treachery of Muda Hassim.

the trading part of the transaction. As for the cession of the country, the rajah Muda Hassim had, from one cause or another, practised a palpable deception, but there was against him no claim upon which an appeal could have been made by a private individual to the common law of nations. Consequently Mr. Brooke determined to use no force or intimidation, to despatch the *Swift* to Singapore, and proceed himself in the *Royalist* to Bruné, where, according to native rumours, the crew of a shipwrecked vessel were detained, whom he thought it his duty to endeavour to release. He had already made unsuccessful attempts to effect that object; but active interference could no longer be delayed. On reflecting, however, on the circumstances then existing, he determined to send the schooner to Bruné, while he himself remained at Sarawak, to procure what now in simple justice he could command. Each vessel was to return as quickly as possible from her destination; and he then resolved to give the rajah two additional months for consideration, when, having enjoyed the fullest opportunity of acting well, he must be forced to do what honesty required.

Moderate conduct of Brooke.

New interview with the rajah.

Mr. Brooke saw Muda Hassim, stated to him his complaints, showed what injuries he was suffering, and requested to be compensated for the losses he had endured. No satisfactory answer was obtained. In three days no reply was made, and on the fourth morning the two schooners proceeded to sea, the one for Bruné, the other for Singapore, Mr. Brooke himself remaining with three companions in the new house — a hazardous situation — engaged in a quiet but rancorous conflict with a half-barbarian prince, troubled on all sides by the machinations of intriguing chiefs, and surrounded by a fierce and lawless people. The question arose in his mind whether he possessed the right to force Muda

Hassim to comply with the terms of his engagement. A British subject could not attack an independent prince in Borneo, or any other part of the globe, without incurring the risk of punishment under the laws of his own country; but if that prince fraudulently possessed himself of a stranger's property, deceived him by false pretences, made promises to break them, agreed before witnesses to that which he refused afterwards to fulfil; then was a British subject to suffer that injury when the prince was able and only unwilling to pay? That he had trusted Muda Hassim was no reason that he should submit to be betrayed by him; that he had an imperial government to apply to was no solace to one who knew that his claim, even if allowed, might only be enforced for the benefit of his posterity in the fourth and fifth generation. Law there was none to arbitrate between them, for the Malay sovereign was impelled only by caprice, and governed only by his own desires.

His situation in Borneo.

Sarawak, also, presented many inducements to a man of liberal and chivalric mind. It had great capabilities — a rich vegetable kingdom; abundant mineral resources, especially in antimony ore; a considerable population of Dyaks, whose social state and character were susceptible of much amelioration; an infusion of Malays not too large to be within control; and a swarm of Chinese — active, busy, intelligent, and valuable, under a government strong enough to protect them against oppression, and to protect itself against their turbulent disposition. The Pontiana river might serve as the channel of a fructifying and expanding trade from the unknown interior of the island, a great work of civilisation might be accomplished, and a reputation gained illustrious enough to satisfy the desires of a magnanimous ambition. Considerations of this nature

Capabilities of Sarawak.

Its condition.

Its resources.

reconciled him to the sacrificing virtue of patience, and the *ennui* of expectation, whose promise is long deferred.

In little more than three weeks, the *Royalist* returned from Bruné, and next day the *Swift*, from Singapore. Mr. Brooke continued to lay earnest remonstrances before Muda Hassim, and detailed to him in a formal memoir the whole course of the negotiations which had taken place. This letter the Malay, though his stolid nature refused to be controlled by it, acknowledged to be a fair and faithful account, and he again pledged himself to deliver over the country; but, he added, difficulties arose in his path which he knew not how to remove.

Behaviour of the rajah.

There was now, in his manner, some return of that frankness which had long disappeared. It encouraged the hope that a just settlement might be concluded without a rupture. Circumstances, also, conspired to favour Mr. Brooke. When the *Diana* war-steamer rushed up the river to make inquiries into the transactions connected with the wreck of the *Sultana*, great fear pervaded the population. Under the authority of that awe which her cloudy wake and threatening armament inspired, a solution of all disputes might easily have been obtained. Mr. Brooke, however, with a delicate generosity which his friends will be allowed to notice, and his detractors have been unable to deny, refrained from introducing the subject until the vessel had left. She came, however, a second time, with the schooner, bringing the shipwrecked crew of the *Sultana*. This circumstance materially strengthened the position of Mr. Brooke. It showed the chiefs and the people that the authorities on that station were alert, and created an impression that the Englishman was exceedingly influential with the governor of Singapore.

Delicate conduct of Mr. Brooke.

Improvement of Mr. Brooke's situation.

Chinese miners were employed by the rajah, and they slowly freighted the *Swift* with antimony ore. Some inclination being by this evinced to remember engagements, Mr. Brooke once more furnished his house from the *Royalist.* He intended, however, to despatch neither of the vessels again until a final settlement of one kind or another had been procured. Gradually he obtained glimpses into the character and situation of Muda Hassim, who, naturally feeble and poor in mind, suffered much from the treachery and intrigue of the chiefs who surrounded him, ready to act as sycophants or conspirators, as their caprice or selfishness suggested. Complications at Bruné, the faction of Mahom, the avarice and ill faith of his own people, the influence of the sultan of Sambas, and continual false rumours systematically circulated, bewildered the little perception he possessed. The Chinese delayed obedience to his orders; he entertained still a lingering suspicion of Mr. Brooke; and he was reluctant to fulfil a promise which required the relinquishment of power. That he was thus rendered timid and vacillating, is not a subject for surprise; that he was not seduced into hostility, is remarkable.

Influences in operation against him.

Indeed, powerful influences pressed around him. The accession of the Englishman to the government was dreaded by a crowd of chiefs, to whose advantage the economy of injustice had long furnished resources for the fund of fraud and extortion. They feared that under his rule the sources of corrupt gain would be dried up, and on this account sought to involve Mr. Brooke in a quarrel with the Dutch factors at Sambas, who would gladly have driven him out of the country. Makota's whole conduct was that of a treacherous intriguer; his conspiracy with Sambas was notorious to all; and the rajah knew that he could not, without the aid of the ally who had ended the civil war, prevail against the

Makota's intrigues.

enemies and the dangers which were thickening around him. The machinations and villanies of Makota were daily illustrated by incidents unmistakable in their character. By threats, lies, and plots, he prevented all persons over whom his influence extended, from going near the Englishman's house. No means were too disreputable to be employed. A Chinese Hajji, whom Mr. Brooke had befriended, announced that an attempt had been made to poison him; but it was discovered that he had been induced by Makota to put arsenic on his own plate in order to throw suspicion on some of the Englishman's adherents.

Resolution of Mr. Brooke.

This occurrence animated Mr. Brooke to fix his resolution at once. He determined no longer to trifle. He stated the circumstance to the rajah; he loaded the ship's guns with grape and canister, cleared her decks for action, moored her in a convenient position, and then proceeded to expose the crimes and machinations of Makota. He protested his kindness to Muda Hassim, but declared he should attack Makota, from whose wickedness neither he nor the rajah could be safe.

His preparations.

Prospects of success.

Temper of the people.

An issue.

The prince was alarmed, and so probably was the chieftain, for he did not show himself out of his house for a long time. No struggle, however, took place; for all the elements of force in Sarawak appeared to be gathered up in the hands of Mr. Brooke. The Siniawan people whom he had befriended in a time of distress immediately declared for his cause, announcing that 200 warriors were ready to reply to his summons. The Chinese and the rest of the population took no side, but remained passively waiting to accept any master accident should set over them. Makota, with the exception of his own slaves, about twenty in number, could not rally a single adherent. Matters, therefore, were speedily arranged; the rajah at once arrived at a conclusion; the long negotiation was ratified in an hour; a treaty was drawn out; seals and signatures were applied; the flags waved, the guns fired, general shouts resounded along the river; and on the 24th of September, 1841, James Brooke became, with unlimited authority, Rajah of Sarawak.

Declared rajah of Sarawak.

CHAPTER XIII.

Borneo.

At a point in the narrative which describes the establishment of Sir James Brooke as an independent prince in Borneo, it is proper to introduce a general account of that island. Slight as such a notice must necessarily be, yet it may include an outline view of its geographical character, its aspect, resources, and its population, with a separate sketch of Sarawak, the *pied à terre* on which the first outworks of British influence have been erected.

Ancient accounts.

Three centuries ago the marvellous riches of Borneo were reported to Europe by navigators who extolled in poetical panegyric the Golden Kingdom of the Malays. Nor was it unknown to the Arabians, for it seems clearly to be identical with their Mihráj, in the wonderful romance of "Essindibad of the Sea."[1] It was then imagined that a ship might there be freighted in a few days with the rarest productions of the earth — white and pure pearls, ductile gold, camphor[2], sweet and fragrant gums, perfumed oils, spices, and gems of imperial splendour; while the soil yielded, in exuberant profusion, every grain and fruit discovered in the richest parts of Asia. Similar visions, indeed, haunted the mariner's fancy as he explored the coast of any Indian island, and traditionary ideas imparted to every account

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[1] Lane, *Arabian Nights, Notes*, iii. 85.

[2] *Alcamphora* in the Spanish, who received the name from the Arabs, but the word is apparently of Sanscrit origin. Crawfurd, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 183.

Tropical vegetation.

of those regions the exaggeration of romance.[1] It has since been found that the luxuriant vegetation of the East does not always indicate a fertility useful to man; and that, as in Sumatra, a deceptive beauty belongs to the growth of soils extremely ungrateful to husbandry.

Capabilities of Borneo.

In Borneo, however, as in Java, though the heat and moisture are unfavourable to European processes of tillage, all that can be grown with success in any tropical country, may be cultivated to perfection.[2] Qualifying, therefore, the sense of the ancient narrations, by allowance for the florid style inspired from a sanguine mind, too credulous of good, we find them to bear close comparison with the most authentic records of late research.[3]

Comparison of travellers' accounts.

The voyager of 1718, indeed, relates little of the natural resources of Borneo[4], which is not confirmed by the inquiries of a more modern period. What he and others related of the king's splendour may, it is true, have been a picturesque exaggeration, but even in this most old narratives concur.[5]

Geography of the island.

Borneo is divided by the equator into two unequal parts, and is, with the exception of New Holland, the largest island in the world. It enters two of the great sections into which the Archipelago has been distributed — one, the more favoured, which embraces Java, and a second containing Celebes, while it projects itself also into the climate of spice and sago.[6]

Extent.

Including the little groups, which geographically are attached to it, it extends through eleven degrees of longitude, and ten of latitude—from 106° 40′ to 116° 45′ east of Greenwich, and from 7° north to 4° 20′ south latitude — a length of about 900, and a breadth of about 750 miles.[1] The area has been computed at about 114,000 square miles.[2] Whence it derived its name is unknown; but it is probably not a native appellation. According to some it is called by the aborigines Kalamantan[3]; to others, Varouni, or "Born of the Sea;"[4] while it has been spoken of under the Greek description of Megalonesia. The Malay word Borneo, is said to be derived from the Sanscrit Bhurni[5]; and Tannah Burni, "The Land of Burni," is used by the people of the Peninsula[6], as it was by the old Portuguese navigator[7]; and by the Venetian travellers Borneo[8] as well as Burnè[9]; but the aborigines appear to have no fixed name to apply to the whole island.[10] Many of the tribes dwelling in the interior have no idea that their country is surrounded by the sea[11], while others know of nothing beyond the borders of those streams on which they live. All of them, though their names are infinitely various, appear to be derived from a common origin, and to have inhabited Borneo at a period long anterior to the Malayan emigration. From the conquering race which became dominant along their coasts, they probably received the appellation of Dyaks, and from them perhaps learned many of their treacherous arts. Abandoning the maritime districts to the warlike colonists who descended on them, they retreated to the interior hills and plains, distressed by the tyranny of the Malays, which pursued

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[1] "Accounts of India and China," 61.

[2] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 32.

[3] Anderson, *Borneo Papers*, p. 18.

[4] Beeckman, *Visit to Borneo*, 36.

[5] Pigafetta, *Purch. Pilgr.* i. 2. Note 32, 33.

[6] Crawfurd, *History*, i. 8—10.

Native ideas of geography.

The Dyaks.

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[1] Temminck, ii. 132.
[2] Melville de Carnbeè, *Moitueur.*
[3] Rienzi and Low, 3.
[4] Hamilton.
[5] Müller.
[6] Law, *Sarawak*, 2.
[7] Pigafetta, Harris.
[8] Ramusio.
[9] Barbosa.
[10] So G. Müller, Henrici, Diard, S. Müller, Korthial, and Brooke, quoted in Temminck, ii. 134.
[11] Low, *Sarawak*, 3.

them until their traces were lost in the depths of the unexplored forest. To describe them as they live in the vast solitudes of Central Borneo, remains for travellers at a future day. Large communities, however, remained near the sea, struggling on precarious earnings against the extortions of their rulers on the one hand, and the exaction of their plunderers on the other; but still presenting in the simplicity of their lives a curious picture of man's social inventions in the earliest period of his history.

Sea tribes.

It is little more than thirty years since Borneo was described as a blank on the map[1], and even now no more than the outlines of its geography are known. Every glimpse of light, however, that is thrown upon it, reveals a new incentive to the enterprise of a commercial nation, and no suggestion of policy is wanting to engage the English in securing a share in the trade, if not in the territory of that important island. Its position in the mercantile route to China and Japan, its numerous valuable rivers, its valuable productions and the fertility of its soil, its immense extent, and the apparent salubrity of its climate in many parts, with the character of its numerous population, promise every reward to the merchants who may succeed in developing its resources.

Imperfection of our knowledge.

Position of Borneo.

Its importance.

The population cannot with any accuracy be estimated; every statement must be a loose and hazardous conjecture: 3,000,000 is by some considered an exaggerated number, because what is known of the interior seems to be thinly peopled; the tribes along the banks of rivers are few; the levels near the sea and exposed to inundation are uninhabitable; the lowlands are of alluvial formation, and the immense wooded deltas

Population.

Surface.

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[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 266.

afford only a place of temporary sojourn to nomadic hordes.[1] Whether the more elevated districts of the interior, especially the high valleys, do not ferment with the activity of a denser population is problematical, but the tendency of the tribes in Borneo has been, since the Malay colonisation, from instead of towards the sea, though it may be unprofitable to enter into speculative discussions on the result of this migratory process. The statistics of the Dutch settlements, where the Dyaks preponderate in an immense proportion over the representatives of other races, indicates a small average population to the square mile[2]; as the more recent tables show with reference to all their possessions in Borneo.[3]

Tribes of Borneo.

Borneo, superior in area to the whole territory of France, is of varied aspect, but everywhere reveals the characteristics of uncultivated nature. As the last upheaving or sinking of the earth left it, so it remains, with few traces of human industry to change the features of its surface. It has high mountains, long and copious rivers, lakes of various size, and in the northern portions many spacious plains. There also the hills reach their greatest height, Kini Balu, or the Chinese Widow, attaining an altitude of nearly 14,000 feet. The ranges lie generally in a direction from north-east to south-west, descending about midway to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, and sloping to 4,000 and 2,000 as they approach the western shore.[4] Between them, in the northern division, lie wide levels formed from the deposit of streams, which flowing through long sinuous valleys, overlay the prevailing quartz formations with a rich composition of vegetable mould.[5] On every side of the island, indeed,

Aspect of Borneo.

Mountains.

Plains.

Rivers

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[1] Temminck, ii. 143.
[2] Tobias, *Rapport*, 1825.
[3] Melville de Carnbée, *Moniteur*, i. 69.
[4] Low, *Sarawak*, 6.
[5] Temminck, ii. 405.

numerous rivers discharge themselves, some springing from undiscovered sources in the interior, and aggrandized by the tribute of many affluent streams; others rising among the nearer hills, and descending with serpentine course to their embouchure. On the north the largest are those of Bruné, Rejang, Serebas, Sakarran, and Sarawak; on the south, the Great Banjar, on the south-east the river of Passir, and on the east, Koti, — all of large volume, besides many others capable of navigation.[1] If ever, indeed, the heart of that mighty island be laid open to European enterprize, it will be through these streams, which render Borneo, with the exception of western Africa, and perhaps of Brazil, the best watered country in the world. Between the province of Sarawak and the city of Bruné may be counted the mouths of more than twenty rivers, available for purposes of trade. The tides flow far up, and in the more level districts the depth continues to a long distance inland, as in the Rejang, the Banjar, the Sambas, and the Pontianah; while along the hilly coasts they have, like those of New Zealand, a short precipitous course, and pour their fresh water, almost unmingled, into the sea.[2]

Tidal rivers.

Various lakes of considerable extent are reported to exist in parts of the island hitherto unexplored. One beautiful sheet of water, stored with excellent fish, was discovered by the Dutch in 1823, 250 miles up the Pontianah river. It contained islands, and supplied several falls of picturesque appearance along the course of the streams. Near Kini Balu, the confluent springs of a circular range are said to fill a beautiful lake; and a chain of smaller lakes is laid down by the Dutch, thence to the head of the Pontianah, or across the island;

Lakes.

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[1] Crawfurd, *Borneo Papers*, 16.

[2] Low, *Sarawak*, 8.

but these reports are derived only from native authority, if they are indeed any more than the conjectural theories of speculative geographers. In the Dyak country of Balow, however, is known to exist a small and beautiful lake, one or two miles wide, and about five in length, enclosed by a rim of low verdant hills, and many of these are probably interspersed among the woods of the interior.[1] Wherever water is found, settlements of natives are discovered, — some crowded on the borders of a river, others secluded in isolated spots, where their industry alone disturbs the general silence and tranquillity of nature. For nearly the whole known surface of Borneo is shaded by immense forests, which spread from the southern coasts to those which overlook the sea of China, and from the western to the eastern shores. Near their confines they are intersected by chains of water-courses and lakes, whose overflowings form a continuous succession of marshes for hundreds of miles, and close the interior against the traveller's research. The great Duson river, with ts many tributary streams, traverses in its sinuous course a vast jungly delta, inundated in the hot seasons to a depth of several feet. In all that region the virgin forest is interrupted only by morasses, mouths of rivers, creeks, and streams, which form the only avenues to the interior. The wandering native turns to his use the winding course of the abundant waters[2], and builds his habitation near them, in order that when necessity or inclination impels him to change his place of abode, a canoe may bear him, with his family, to some other spot where fruit and game abound to supply his limited desires.

Native settlements.

Forests.

Morasses.

Water life.

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[1] Brooke, *Journal*, Mundy, 220.

[2] Temminck, ii. 406.

These forests cover a surface in general low and undulating, few highlands existing in the north-west, south, or south-eastern divisions of the island. On the west the wavy sloping country is not so broad, and near Sambas and Sarawak the hills are so frequent, and approach so nearly to the sea, that the landscape has a mountainous appearance. There is, in all parts, a wide beach of fine white sand, reaching to a line of the graceful Casuarina or Arru tree, which resembles a belt of fir. Swamps usually extend near the mouths of rivers, overgrown by nipah and mangrove, where the mosquito swarms so inveterately that Europeans never sleep near them.[1]

Surface.

Beach.

Swamps.

Mosquitos.

In the woods of Borneo live immense tribes of the four-handed family, the mias pappan, the ourang-outang, and others of that genus, delighting in a humid atmosphere. They are in infinite variety, and of species the most curious — the pappan and rembi[2], the long-nosed, the long-armed, the short-tailed, with others unknown to the naturalist. They are astonishingly numerous, and very destructive to the rice fields, so that a constant war is carried on between them and the Dyaks, who besides esteem their flesh as food.[3] There are found also a kind of panther, whose skin is employed by

The monkey family.

Other animals.

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[1] Low, *Sarawak*, 10.

[2] See Brooke, *Journal*, Mundy, i. 227. See Valmont de Bomare, iii. 366., for a notice of a wild man — *homo sylvestris* — from Borneo, which evidently refers to the mias. See Rousseau's speculations — *Sur l'Inégalité*, *Œuvres*, i. 152. From this tribe of creatures it is conjectured by Bailly the ancients derived their ideas of Fauns and Satyrs (*Lettres sur l'Atlantide*, 176.) Certainly, the "pygmies" of the Grand Khan's retinue—"red, downy-faced creatures only four feet high,"—were apes of Sumatra. See Marsden, *Marco Polo*, 604., Hole, 78. and Griffith, *Animal King.* i. 256.

[3] See *Monographie de Mammalogia*, par Temminck, 113. 364.

Indian gazelle.

Wild beasts.

Elephants.

the natives as the material of a martial costume; the coco or Malayan honey-feeding bear; deer of various species, and especially the palandok, eating the blossoms of the *Dillenia speciosa,* and equal in its glossy coat, its lustrous and melting eyes, its light and graceful form, and its fleet agile movements to the gazelle of the Persian poets; the wild pig, the tiger, and civet cat, otter, ant-eater, many of the lemur tribe, the white pig, peculiar to Borneo, and the tapir, are among the other living creatures of that island, besides a large and handsome buffalo, while it is not yet proved that the elephant and rhinoceroes do not exist in the northern forests.[1] Indeed it appears impossible to doubt the existence of the former, since tusks have lately been brought by natives from the interior to be exchanged with the traders at Labuan.[2] Elephants too in that quarter of the world have impressed travellers with the belief that they know the value mankind set on their teeth, and sometimes after shedding them covered them with earth out of sheer malice.[3]

Snakes.

nsects.

Reptiles abound in the moist atmosphere of Borneo — crocodiles, alligators, lizards, and frogs, which croak in millions in the marshes, and are devoured by snakes. The crested cobra, the beautiful and deadly sun-snake, the golden-ringed viper, the hammer-headed viper, the brilliant green and yellow flower-snake, with skin like velvet, and various other kinds, some poisonous, others harmless, live in the marshes, or amid the vegetation, or in the hollow trunks of trees; while butterflies, sometimes nine inches from tip to tip of the

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[1] Temminck, ii. 410.

[2] *Singapore Free Press,* Sept. 5. 1851.

[3] Topsell, Gesner, 152. Hole, 211.

Birds.

wings, hover about the tree tops like large flying flowers.[1] There are, besides, scented beetles, elegant spiders, and myriads of other insects[2], with bees, whose honey is plentifully stored in the woods. Fish of different kinds exist in the rivers and along the coast.[3] The winged creation is varied and numerous, distinguished less for its song than for plumage of gaudy and dazzling colours.[4] Its varieties are numerous, from the crowned eagle to the pigeon, whose plaintive coo may be heard all day in the solitudes.

Minerals.

Timber.

Vegetation.

Of the productions of Borneo, which may be made available for purposes of commerce, or for domestic industry and consumption, there is a long catalogue to be made[5], and one still far from complete. Of minerals coal, antimony[6], iron, tin, nickel, quicksilver, and gold[7] in abundance, diamonds equal to those of India or Brazil[8], while a beautiful resplendent sand has been suggested as indicating the vicinity of other gems.[9] Timber of various kinds and qualities, for ship and house building[10], and ornamental manufacture, abounds in the woods.[11] The climate is favourable to vegetation, and though exceedingly healthy for persons who are not compelled to undergo much exposure, is so moist, that its surface wears a perpetual tint of vivid green. From April to October is the rainy season; but scarcely a day passes in the other months, without a light shower, and this with a constant and pervading warmth so encourages the growth of every plant and tree, that Borneo, from the brim of the ocean as far as the eye can penetrate into the interior, presents one mighty flowing surface of leaves, grass, flowers, and blossoms perpetually renewed, and blooming for ever, with a beauty and lustre unknown in any other country of similar extent in the world.[1] The soil is rich and deep, capable of producing sugar-cane, nutmegs in abundance, cinnamon, oranges, and many other fruits and vegetables not originally found there. The cabbage palm, the bamboo, cocoa-nuts, sago, the gomuti palm, the areca, rattans, nipah, and other trees yield the most articles for native consumption, with rice so grateful to the inhabitants of the East. The camphor laurel yields that beautiful gum, the powerful fragrance of which was chosen to be shed by the lamps burned in the palaces of India.[2] There are besides vegetable tallow and vegetable wax.[3] Native oil, panguim edule, wood and various seed oils, gutta percha, the sap of a climbing plant, dammar or resin, wild cinnamon, cotton, pepper, coffee, gambier, tobacco, numerous dye stuffs, and aloes[4], are among the commo-

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[1] MS. notes of a resident.

[2] Grasshoppers larger than sparrows. *Adams* in *Belcher*, ii. 252.

[3] Low, *Sarawak*, 88.

[4] Temminck, *Planches Colorées*, 538. 572. *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 415. What poet's fancy can surpass that of the old voyagers, relating to the little bird Viemalin, sleeping all the winter to wake in April and feed on dew and honey of roses? Hakluyt, iv. 444.

[5] What is Roggewein's *Pork Stone?* Harris, i. 307. Is it the Bezoar? Valmont de Bomare, iv. 599.

[6] Keppel, Brooke, i. 95.

[7] Belcher, *Voyaye of Samarang*, i. 24.

[8] Brooke, Mundy, i. 281.

[9] Low, *Sarawak*, 29.

[10] Belcher, i. 35, 36.

[11] Keppel, i. 95.

Rain.

Warmth.

Tints of verdure.

Valuable productions.

Camphor.

Miscellaneous produce.

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[1] Low, *Sarawak*, 30.

[2] Valmont de Bomare, i. 548. Radermacher, ii. 56. Logan, ii. 523. Marsden, *Marco Polo*, 613—615. "This islande yieldeth yeerely great abundance of camphora, which they sayde to be the gumme of a tree; but I dare not affyrme it, because I have not seene it." Vartomannus, *Travels*, Hakluyt, iv. 599.

[3] Hunt's *Sketch of Borneo* has a good list of its contributions to trade. See also p. 58.

[4] Lane, *Note*, *Arab. Nights*, iii. 86.

dities for exportation.[1] Of flowers the variety is infinite — of every brilliant hue, purple, gold, crimson, ivory peaked with red, — shrubs with blossoms like stars growing in large thickets, and giving to the landscape an aspect of poetical and fanciful beauty, many of the most enormous trees also being loaded with bloom.[2] As there are in Borneo butterflies like flowers, so there are flowers like butterflies, with rich freckled petals spread like wings, and others that wave from tall solid stems, clusters of blossoms which form as it were a splendid floral plume.[3] Wax, edible birds' nests, bezoar stones, and tortoise-shell may be added to the list of articles of commercial value.

Flowers.

The inhabitants of Borneo may be divided into three classes, the Dyaks [4], a subject race inspired by hopes of vengeance upon its tyrants; the dominant Malays who spoil and oppress the aborigines, and the colonists of China, an active and industrious but turbulent and intractable part of the population.[5] The Dyaks, who in their physical and social characteristics resemble the Tarajah of Celebes[6], the people in the interior of Sumatra, and the Arafura tribes of Papua, may be regarded as the aborigines of the Archipelago; but though the name may be applied to all the wild tribes of the island, it is not so used by themselves. There are other

Inhabitants.

Dyaks.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 190—192. Valentyn's list is good, iii. 237.

[2] Temminck, ii. 418. Details on this subject are profusely scattered through *Keppel*, *Mundy*, *Low*, *Belcher*, the *Moniteur*, and the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*.

[3] Adams, in Belcher, ii. 478.

[4] The Dyaks are of various shades of colour, to account for which shall we consult Lacépède, whose theory affirms that all men were originally negroes, who have been more or less blanched by circumstances! *Ages de la Nature*, i. 254.

[5] *Revue des deux Mondes*, ii.

[6] Pritchard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.*

natives in distinct localities with characteristics of their own. The Dusun, or the villagers of the north, an agricultural people, the Murut in the inland parts of Bruné, the Kadians, of the same country, an industrious peaceful nation, valuable for those qualities; and the Kayan, more numerous, more powerful, and more warlike than any other in Borneo. They are an inland race inhabiting a district extending from about sixty miles up the interior from Tanjong Barram to within a similar distance on the eastern shore. Fierce, reckless of life, and hot-blooded[1] in their nature, they are nevertheless represented to be hospitable, kind, and faithful to their word, and honest in their dealings. Next to them are the Millanows, southward and westward, living on rivers near the sea — an industrious intelligent people, who occasionally take heads, but have not the ferocity of the Kayan. The Tatars, Balanian, and Kanowit have dialects of their own, and are wild and savage in their manners. The Dyaks are divided into those of the land and sea[2] — the former more peaceable and tractable, the latter more barbarous and formidable.[3]

Village life.

Various tribes.

Land and sea Dyaks.

Peaceful tribes.

The tribes which do not give themselves up to piracy, pillage, and head-hunting are a gentle, tractable, peaceful race, living in harmony among themselves, with simple manners, and primitive modes of life.[4] Unhappily, their numbers have been thinned and their spirits broken by the ravages of the Malays, who have hunted them into woods, where they dwell in small or large communities, subsisting on the produce of the soil. They are still ignorant of arts, sciences, and laws,— their rude inventions being the suggestion of necessity, and their slight social organisation the most vague and flimsy, except where a Malay government holds them in subjection. Then they quickly learn the weight of taxes, and feel the gall of that oppression, which is a bitter thing to the barbarian as well as to the educated mind.[1]

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[1] Literally, hot-blooded. Indeed, the average temperature of man within the tropics is now ascertained to be about a degree higher than in England. Davy, *On the Temperature of Man. Phil. Trans.* 1840, 447.

[2] Keppel, ii. 195—197.

[3] An excellent account of them is given by Mr. Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 165.

[4] See Lane's valuable Notes, *Arabian Nights*, iii. 88.

Their savage state.

The Malays are Mohammedans, living under the rule of the Prophet's descendants, a mongrel race of tyrants, gamblers, opium smokers, pirates, and chiefs who divide their time between cockfighting, smoking, concubines, and collecting taxes. The inferior classes are industrious boatbuilders, weavers, miners, brassfounders, and traders, but the Chinese are the most enterprising and flourishing of the numerous settlers in this great island.[2]

Malays.

Character of half-bred Arabs.

Industry.

The political state of Borneo, when Mr. Brooke established himself in one of its provinces, was peculiar. From the first it has been divided into several kingdoms, constantly changing the limits of their territories and their influence. Malays from Singapore, Malacca, and Johore, immigrating to the north coast, became mixed up with Javans, who settled on the west and south, and gave names and rulers to many of the dis-

Political state of Borneo.

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[1] Temminck, ii. 391.

[2] There is nothing to prove that the Malay is as far superior to the Dyak, as the Dyak to the Doko. This appears an exaggeration of his capacities, though Schlegel seems justified in graduating the human race from the American, through the African, to the Malay, leaving the woolly-haired tribes of Papua out of view. He might have placed the Australian at the beginning of his scale, and the New Zealander at the end.

Kingdom of Bruné.

tricts they occupied. Among the most ancient and powerful of the Malay kingdoms was Bruné on the north-west[1], of which Sarawak was a dependent, while on the western coast were Sambas and Pontianah, with Banjarmassin and Pontianah on the south, and Koti on the east[2], all decayed from their former significance; but the Dutch claim nearly three fourths of the whole island[3], that is, all but the north-eastern Peninsula, and a narrow strip along the north-west coast, terminating at Tanjong Datu.[4] They viewed, indeed, with extreme jealousy the occupation by an Englishman of a territory so extensive and so valuable as Sarawak.

Dutch in Borneo.

Their jealousy of the English.

Sarawak.

Situation.

Extent.

Boundaries.

That territory extends along the north-west coast from Tanjong Datu to the entrance of the Samarahan river, about sixty miles, with an average breadth of fifty. On the west lies Sambas, on the south a line of hills shuts out the Pontianah river, and eastward is situated the Brunean province of Sudong. Within this spacious district are many rivers and streams of various size — the Sarawak itself being navigable for some miles. The soil and productions are of the richest description — including nearly all the advantages generally ascribed to the whole island, with a climate of superior salubrity.[5] There was, indeed, every material from which man could create wealth, happiness, and contentment; but hitherto the land had been neglected; the earth had been untilled; the people had been barbarous and oppressed, the government had been feeble though extortionate, and decay, demoralisation, and ruin had made of the whole a miserable picture for an Englishman to contemplate.

Capabilities.

Ancient oppression.

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[1] See for Bruné, Forrest, *Voyage*, 380.

[2] Low, *Sarawak*, 104.

[3] *Moniteur Orientale.*

[4] *Journ. Ind. Arch.*, ii. 176.

[5] Brooke, *Journal.* Mundy, i. 194.

This condition of things, existing when Mr. Brooke became rajah, is to be remembered when we estimate the grandeur of his achievements in the Indian Archipelago. It was not a mere savage, ignorant, simple tribe, unaccustomed to any forms of society, that he undertook to reclaim; it was a country where bad government, imbecility in the prince, villany in the chiefs, abject submission in some of the people, and rebellion in others, poverty, disorganisation, and corruption of every kind, had reduced an ancient system to utter chaos and confusion. A summary of the evils existing, displays at once the magnitude of the task imposed on himself by the man who resolved to plant the principles of civilisation there.

Frequency of crime.

Murder, robbery, and fraud were offences of daily occurrence; no man could trade or labour secure in the prosecution of his calling or the enjoyment of his gains; the river was obstructed by vile fiscal contrivances, the sea was infested by pirates; the Dyaks were cheated of their earnings under the most false and mean pretences; the revenue was unsettled, and wrung from the people with horrid violence and disregard of equity; weights, measures, and coins had no standard; there was no barrier between the weakness of the poor and the extortion of the rich; men's lives were unsafe, and their property insecure; confidence in the government was unknown; taxes consumed the little produce of the soil; the Malays robbed the Dyaks, and the Dyaks stored away their gains in secret places, so that the fellahs on the banks of the Nile, or the villagers in Oude, could scarcely be compared for misery with the wretched inhabitants of Sarawak.

Disorganisation of society.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rajah Brooke.

INSTALLED in the rajahate of Sarawak, Mr. Brooke felt that the responsibility which had fallen on him was of no ordinary character. There was little to encourage and much to confuse his plans. A design, approaching in its nature to phantasy, was to be accomplished by means the least adapted to conciliate any enemies, or to gain the favour of any powerful friends. In the political reformation of the province, the gratitude of the poor would be little effectual against the resentment of the rich. Principles of equity introduced into the administration could not fail of exciting alarm among numerous chiefs whose anger would be more bitter and more formidable if they were forced to conceal the causes of it. Influence would be taken from the tyrannical, emolument from the usurious, and from the rapacious innumerable objects of plunder. Against, therefore, the gladness of the people, would be set the quick sensibility of many an imagined private wrong, to revenge on the man who should commence the difficult and invidious process of social reformation.

Extraordinary character of his undertaking.

Obstacles.

The achievement seemed almost a vision, so multiplied were the obstacles, and so portentous the dangers which intervened. To establish principle where there had been corruption, method in place of anarchy, regularity for disorder, economy for profusion, justice to individuals for systematic fraud, and care of all for general neglect, was to compel a revolution in the government of Sarawak. Numbers of individuals who had flourished upon maladministration, were interested, of course, in continuing that system which furnished resources for their cupidity. At Bruné, also, a cabal existed, avowing unequivocal hostility to the Englishman's views; and the Dutch, who regret that they ever permitted the accession of Mr. Brooke to his rajahate, were inclined to thwart his plans, and stir a jealous population against him. They had concerted a plan for opening political relations with Bruné, and making treaties with all the independent chiefs on the northern coast of Borneo, but the proceedings of Mr. Windsor Earl gave the first salutary check to their machinations; and the policy of Mr. Brooke at Sarawak is remembered with resentment as having completely traversed their design.[1]

Views of the Dutch.

Mr. G. Windsor Earl.

Indeed, the policy of the Dutch was then undeniably directed to obstruct the legitimate progress of British influence in that portion of the East. It was not sufficient for their ambition that no check was offered to any project of theirs for increased territory and extended rule. Sumatra, within five years, had been reduced by them from independence to subjection, and already began to change its aspect under their government — an immense addition of influence and commercial resources to them.[2] In the island of Bali the consummation of a long-cherished plan was eagerly anticipated. That island, separated from Java by the Sunda Strait, a narrow channel, affording a safe passage towards Europe during the western monsoons, is of considerable size[3], with a population not supposed to fall short of 800,000 souls[4]; 900,000 is the estimate of another writer.[5] Other estimates vary between 733,000[6] to 987,000.[7]

Dutch policy.

Bali.

Population.

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[1] Temminck, ii. 218.

[2] Ibid. ii. 41.

[3] Hamilton, *E. India Gaz.* i. 120. 122.

[4] Temminck, i. 340.

[5] Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Arch.*, iii. 384.

[6] Van den Brock, 1818.

[7] *Moniteur Orientale.*

Religion.

This is the only island in the Archipelago[1] where the Buddhist religion, with a remnant of its civil polity[2], lingers amid the Mohammedanism of the dominant and the primitive beliefs of the inferior race.[3]

Soil.

The soil is volcanic, equal in fertility, in many parts, to that of Java, but covered with beautiful forests, though rice is produced in considerable abundance, two crops being reaped in a year.

The people.

The Balinese are a fierce, hardy people, superior in physical development to their Javan neighbours, much prized as slaves, and, as soldiers, reputed to be skilful as well as brave.

Dutch designs.

To this island, the Dutch had long directed their views, esteeming it a valuable possession; and they had early formed treaties with the eight petty princes who divided its sovereignty to provide for their own recognition as paramount lords of Bali.

Treaties.

The treaties were signed, but the princes, up to 1840, maintained independence of action in the administration of affairs. In the next year, however, a vessel was pillaged on the coast under the countenance of the chiefs; and of this incident Holland was determined to avail herself, for the purpose of including Bali within the acknowledged circle of her Oriental dominions.

Piracy.

Piracy, it is said, found encouragement at the ports of the island, and indeed at every place where European functionaries were not established, so that even then the freebooters of the Philippines, of Borneo, of Sulu, and Papua, threatened from time to time the happy peace of Java.[4] Indeed, in 1841, one of the native government cruizers was captured on the east coast of that island, and the war schooner *Doris* attacked, though she escaped after a severe struggle.[1] Consequently, while Holland, by resenting with a severity unequal to the offence an act of piracy in Bali, and taught by experience the injurious influence of the marauding system on her own trade, was permitted, unquestioned, to develope her political designs, she enjoyed no prerogative to deny the right of Great Britain to pursue a similar course, with a similar object, in another part of the Archipelago.

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[1] Crawfurd, *Hist. Ind. Arch.* ii. 236—259.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java. Append.* 236. Also Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 260.

[3] See *Journ. Ind. Arch.* v. 367.

[4] Temminck, i. 345.

Rights of the Dutch.

The first three months of the English rajah's administration were, however, occupied with an endeavour to commence the realisation of his speculative plans. He collected evidence upon the resources and necessities of the country; applied the principle of justice to rescue the weak from oppression by the strong; opened a court for the decision of causes, and generally satisfied the people of his ability and desire to govern them well. Muda Hassim released upwards of 120 women and children, whom he had kept in captivity; the Siniawan tribes were induced to return from their exile; a light and regular tax of rice was decreed; and the promise of safety attracted many to settle under the Englishman's rule. Among others, a number of Sea Dyaks came to beg assistance in the affliction they suffered from the piratical hordes of Sakarran and Sadong. They had been burned out of their homes; their possessions had been spoiled; their fruit-trees cut down; their women and infants taken into slavery. "We would build another house," they said; "we could plant fruit-trees, and cultivate rice; but where can we find wives? Can we forget our young children?"[2]

Rajah Brooke's administration.

A. D. 1842.

Beneficence to the people.

Devastations of pirates.

Pathetic appeal of the Dyaks.

Nothing could be effectually settled until the faction

Factions at Bruné.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 33.

[2] Keppel, i. 256.

at Bruné were defeated in their design upon Sarawak. Makota, in league with a cabal of chieftains at the capital, intrigued to thwart every project of Mr. Brooke, and a conflict began between two parties,—the one of reformers friendly to him, the other of uncompromising adherents to the cause of prescriptive corruption. The sultan took part with those who favoured oppression and piracy; but he had raised up against himself an enemy of an unusual character. His profligate and faithless conduct towards the crew of the *Sultana*[1], attracted the attention of the British government, and they determined to make that an opportunity of establishing an influence on the north-west coast of Borneo, to secure a coal depôt, and check the encroachment which threatened to shut them out from all commerce in those seas. It was an idea of Mr. Brooke's that Muda Hassim might be elevated, naturally or virtually, to the sultanate; and he pressed on the government in India the wisdom of pursuing its measures without delay. Meanwhile, at Sarawak, the promulgation of laws inaugurated a new era in the social history of a considerable population, and preparations were made to defend the province against an attack of the freebooting Sea Dyaks, for working its mines, for encouraging the cultivation of its soil, and promoting the growth of trade. With the natives little difficulty was experienced, but from the Dyak Chinese an obstinate resistance to all forms of authority. Originally a body of slavish artizans in their own country, they had in Borneo risen to great and almost independent power. They ruled, indeed, large bodies of

Makota's intrigues.

The sultan's policy.

Promulgation of new laws at Sarawak.

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[1] The crew arrived at Bruné in a long boat greatly distressed and asked an asylum of the sultan. He possessed himself of their money, some jewels, and their boat, gave them a miserable shed to live in, and forced them to sign bonds for large sums of money.

the Dyaks; warred with the sultan and with the Dutch; maintained the boundaries of their settlement, and flourished on the fruits of industry. On the accession of Mr. Brooke, they refused to acknowledge his authority, and long negotiations ensued, which nearly ended in an armed struggle. The schooner, in fact, was made ready for action, the boats were prepared, with a fleet of war-prahus, and the Chinese yielded only under the terror of the sword. A concession to them was made of a year's tribute, and they acceded to arrangements respecting the tillage of the soil and the product of the mines.[1]

The Chinese.

Transactions with pirates.

In the prosecution of his measures for the extirpation of piracy from Sarawak, Mr. Brooke attacked some desperate chiefs, who had signalised themselves by a number of base assassinations, and one was killed in the attempt to capture him. Four others were executed, under the law against murder, which was clearly known to them, when they committed the crime. The relative of the principal culprit acknowledged the justice of the sentence which condemned him to death. He was strangled, while the others were killed with the kriss. This transaction, misrepresented in England, requires a succinct explanation. On the 24th September 1841, Sir James Brooke was declared rajah of Sarawak, when the country was overwhelmed by anarchy.[2] On the 5th of November a court of justice was opened, and it was announced that robbery and murder would in future be punished with inflexible severity, according to the On dong On dong, or native code of laws.[3] Pangeran Budrudeen was convicted of attacking a Chinese boat within the rajah's jurisdiction, killing one of the crew and severely wounding another.[1] A Magindano Lanun also was guilty of this crime. When an attempt was made to capture him, he refused to surrender, and commenced an attack, when of course he was killed, while flourishing his spear and sword ready to cut down the emissaries of justice. Pangeran Budrudeen, with the third murderer, his brother-in-law, was taken to Sarawak, tried by Muda Hassim, according to the recognised forms of Malayan law, and executed, their conviction ensuing on the clearest evidence possible.[2] The second case of execution of criminals was that of two Dyak chiefs, Parimban and Pa Tummo. Mr. Brooke, on his accession, denounced the punishment of death against those who took heads in Sarawak. These chiefs, head men of the Singè tribe, murdered a number of their fellow subjects, the Sigo people; their own tribe joined in condemning them[3]; they were taken, tried, convicted on conclusive evidence, and put to death.[4]

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[1] Mundy, i. 294.

[2] Keppel, i. 251.

[3] Keppel, i. 256, 257. 266. 268.

Fortunate influence of Mr. Brooke in Sarawak.

Towards the end of July, when a salutary change began to appear in the aspect of affairs at Sarawak, Mr. Brooke paid a visit to Bruné, and was immediately admitted to an audience of the sultan. That prince expressed a desire to be reconciled with Muda Hassim, gave up his twenty-six Lascar prisoners without ransom, surrendered three captives who had been sold there, on receiving twenty-five dollars, and ratified the cession of Sarawak. With the document declaring this, Mr. Brooke then returned to his new dominion, where the sultan's ratification was proclaimed, and the mortification of the hostile chiefs was completed by the triumph of the friendly party and the general body of the people. Several tribes of the interior, indeed, sent to beg that the rajah would take them under his protection. "They had heard," they said, "and the whole world had heard, that a son of Europe was a friend of the Dyaks." Now, therefore, a fine territory with a noble river flowing through it, a fertile soil, a cool and healthy climate, rich mineral productions, timber enough to build a hundred fleets, and a numerous people willing to be ruled, were placed at Mr. Brooke's command; but treachery, deceit, indolence, and selfishness among powerful men remained with piracy, factions in Bruné and Dutch intrigue, to derange his plans and interrupt his views. For, the agents of the Hague, sensible as they could not fail to have been of the ruinous influence upon all trade of the buccaneering system, which consumed the riches of that coast, could not endure to see an Englishman accomplishing what their own government had failed to do, and instilling into the hearts of the poor Dyak population a love for the name of England, which the name of Holland never did inspire.

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[1] Keppel, i. 293.

[2] Mundy, i. 309. 311, 312.

[3] Keppel, i. 301—303.

[4] Mundy, i. 326. 330—335. See Explanation and Exposure, *Parliamentary Papers*. Enclosure 7., in 37.

Jealousy of the Dutch.

In September 1842, the merchant brig *De Hoop* was attacked between the isles of Commodo and Floris, by four large prahus, and the assault was repeatedly renewed, though in the end unsuccessful. The schooner *Young James* also fell in with the pirates off Noera Rajah, while passing from Sourabaya to Timor, and destructive expeditions were directed against their retreats[1]; yet because the efforts of Great Britain seemed to foreshadow an introduction of her influence into Borneo, they were deprecated and questioned by the politicians and journalists of Holland.

Instances of piracy.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 33.

A.D. 1843. Bornean coal.

In England the principal interest excited was with reference to the coal districts in Borneo; and Mr. Brooke conceived the idea of procuring from Bruné a cession of Labuan at the mouth of the river, and a monopoly of coal. He anticipated the objections of the Dutch, who, by a false interpretation of the twelfth article in the treaty of 1824, denied the right of Great Britain to form any settlement in Borneo; though if this were truly the sense of that convention, Australia and New Zealand were equally within the prohibited limits of colonisation. Mr. Brooke, therefore, disregarded the hostility he expected from them, offered the cession of Sarawak to his government, and showed from the gradual springing up of a trade there, that by British influence river after river might be opened up to commerce and civilisation. An immense market might thus be created in a new quarter of the world, for Singapore had not drawn Borneo within the circle of our mercantile enterprise, and that swarming island still lay unknown, neglected, and subject to the pestilential influence of piracy. Nothing could be effectually promoted for the reclamation of Sarawak from its long decline and the inveterate barbarism of its people, until marauders were prevented from ranging along the coast with liberty to plunder all they found. When, therefore, the gallant and distinguished Captain Keppel offered to sail the *Dido* along those shores, and cut up the freebooting system in its breeding grounds, his manly proposals were with gratitude accepted.

Labuan.

The treaty of 1824. Article XII.

False interpretation by the Dutch.

Brooke's offer to the English government.

Necessity of suppressing piracy.

Captain Keppel.

Mr. Brooke guided him to the haunts of the Balanini, and in a single cruize two fleets were encountered — one of five, and the other of six war prahus, which attacked the schooner's boats and sustained a sanguinary conflict. Thus the frightful state of the coast was at once exhibited by remarkable illustrations. Captain Keppel

His expedition.

State of the coast.

made an excursion into the interior, with his friend, saw the people, learned their condition, and added his testimony to the concurrent witness of all former travellers, that no happiness could be enjoyed by them until the curse of piracy had been removed. The course of his operations has been fully and well described in narratives which no historical summary can ever supersede, and it is therefore only necessary to follow the outline of it, in order to maintain a continuous series of transactions before the reader's mind.

Excursion to the interior.

First in the series of expeditions was one against the celebrated and desperate hordes of Sarebas, the terror of all those shores. A force of about eighty officers and men from the *Dido* embarked in a pinnace, two cutters, a gig, Mr. Brooke's craft, the *Jolly Bachelor*, and a store boat, and was accompanied by a native auxiliary of 1000 warriors. The expedition was commanded by Lieutenant Horton, though Captain Keppel accompanied it with Mr. Brooke. Rajah Muda Hassim had written a letter, dated in the Mohammedan style, 20th day of Rabial Akhir, 1257, requiring the aid of the British arms in putting an end to the outrages of the Sarebas and Sakarran tribes. These, he said, were great pirates, seizing goods and murdering people on the high seas. They possessed, he added, more than 300 war prahus, were independent of Bruné, and plundered many vessels trading between that country and the British port of Singapore.[1]

The Sarebas.

Muda Hassim's letter.

Character of the Sarebas.

Strengthened in his resolution by this letter, added to an accumulation of evidence, Captain Keppel resolved to commence his crusade against the Bornean pirates, by an assault on the Sarebas, who were reported to be more strongly fortified than any. They had never yet

Power of

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[1] Keppel, ii. 26.

the Bornean pirates.

been conquered, though repeatedly attacked by confederations of the native princes, and were dreaded by the whole peaceful population. The friendly chiefs were grieved when they heard that Mr. Brooke was going to risk his life by joining the expedition against them, and endeavoured to persuade him against it, but he persisted, saying it was optional with them whether to accompany him or not. They replied, simply, "What is the use of our remaining? If you die, we die; and if you live, we live; we will go with you." Nor could they, with any perception of the difference between evil and good government, fail to know that upon the safety of their white friend depended the hopes of their people.

Fruits of rajah Brooke's rule.

Already, a new bloom was on the land, and industry was contracting the wilderness. While the preparations for a warlike movement were going forward, Captain Keppel went to look for sport in Sarawak, but was disappointed, because "the Dyaks had now enjoyed peace so long, that the whole country was in a state of cultivation."

Captain Keppel's energy.

This was sufficient to gladden a good man's heart, and it moved the captain of the *Dido* to quicken his preparations for crushing the enemies of their happiness and tranquillity.

Expedition commenced.

Intelligence of his design was carried far and wide; many of the half-bred Arab chiefs sent to promise good conduct for the future, tribes which had suffered from the pirates offered to join in attacking them, and the force thus collected proceeded to the Sarebas river.

Approach to Paddi. Its defences.

The first day it advanced towards the town of Paddi, the approach to which was obstructed by booms placed across the stream, and commanded by the guns of several forts.

Fight.

A fierce but brief conflict took place;

Sack of the town.

the savages were dispersed, and the country was illuminated for miles around by the burning of their capital, and its adjacent villages. Next day, an accession of native allies arrived, and a further progress was made, each stronghold being destroyed as it was reached. On the following night a desperate conflict took place, the pirates, under cover of darkness, closing upon their assailants, especially where seven royal marines held a post on a cleared height overlooking the river. At daybreak, a flag of truce appeared from the jungle, and the pirates submitted without reserve to the judgment of Mr. Brooke. He explained that the English had invaded their country, destroyed their fort, and burned their towns, not for any gain to themselves, but to punish continual and aggravated acts of piracy; that the people of Sarebas had two years before been fully warned to cease their marauding enterprises, and would no longer be permitted to rob traders on the high seas, and murder their crews, or carry them into captivity.

Destruction of strongholds.

Submission of pirates.

Mr. Brooke's statement to them.

To this they replied humbly, that their lives were justly forfeited, and they were ready to die, but would, if permitted to live, abstain for ever from piracy, and give hostages for their good behaviour. Mr. Brooke showed them how much more advantageous and honourable honest trade would be, than their former disreputable vocation, invited the chiefs to Sarawak, where they might witness the happiness of the people under his rule, but declared, that should they again commence their acts of murder and pillage, their country should be invaded, and their whole tribe annihilated with fire and sword. The pirates informed their conquerors that, though they sometimes cruized with the people of Paku and Rembas, they could not be responsible for their good conduct, and believed that it would be necessary to chastise them too. They said also that, though they would never more fight under the great chiefs Sheriff

Their reply.

Mr. Brooke's explanation.

Accounts of other pirates.

Sahib and Sheriff Muller, they could not join in an attack on them, or their bloodthirsty and formidable allies on the Sakarran river.

Other haunts broken up.

The large and populous town of Paku, and the formidably defended stronghold of Rembas, with a squadron of heavy war-boats, were in a similar manner destroyed; the pirates submitted, and promised to attend a peace-conference at Sarawak, and the warlike part of that expedition ended. A severe punishment had been inflicted on the guilty communities, but no wanton bloodshed occurred, nor was a single woman or child known to be hurt. Astonishment pervaded the whole country, when it was found that the bore in the river, the booms, the forts, or any of the quaint devices by which barbarians opposed the scientific attacks of Europeans, had availed nothing to save their homes from being desolated by a handful of white men, accompanied by a band of the Dyaks, whom the Sarebas warriors had been accustomed to oppress and plunder without fear of retaliation.[1]

Astonishment of the islanders.

Return to Sarawak.

Welcome by the people.

Returning to Sarawak, Rajah Brooke and Captain Keppel were received with every imaginable demonstration of joy, firing of guns, beating of tom-toms, waving of flags, and orations of praise, exaggerating their achievements to the people. But there was no leisure for enjoying these pleasing testimonials of a grateful people unaccustomed to the benedictions of a generous ruler. The *Dido* sailed for China, and the operations against pirates were interrupted, but the *Samarang* arrived, with the *Harlequin*, the *Wanderer*, and the *Vixen*, which, with the *Royalist* and the *Ariel* merchant-ship, made such a fleet as had never before spread its sails within view of the wandering dwellers

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[1] Keppel, ii. 68

Expedition to Bruné.

on the shores of Sarawak. The squadron was destined for Bruné, to establish relations between the English and the sultan of that state, which had never hitherto been connected by treaty with an European power. The *Wanderer* returned to Singapore, but all the other ships weighed anchor for the capital — a force enough to terrify the tribes of the entire Archipelago.

Politics of the capital. **Attempt to open trade.** **Failure.** **Perpetual cession of Sarawak.** **Disposition of Muda Hassim.**

At Bruné the distractions and disunions of parties produced a miserable confusion, one chief aspiring to the throne, others eager to thwart his ambition, and the sultan presiding over all, the very incarnation of astute and feeble tyranny. An attempt to open trade was defeated by the extortionate avarice of Pangeran Usop, an influential chief, to whose machinations were traced many of the difficulties which arose — an enemy of the English, with a blood-feud against Muda Hassim, and an inclination to foster piracy. Nevertheless, one great object of the visit was obtained; Sarawak was ceded in perpetuity instead of by a feudal tenure to Mr. Brooke, and the rajah addressed to the British government a letter, expressing a desire for friendly and commercial intercourse with the English nation. Muda Hassim continued well inclined towards the European connection, and his brother Pangeran Budrudeen, a man of fine intellect, of generous character, and splendid manners, exhibited the most amicable disposition. He formed a powerful member of what may be termed the British party in Bruné, and would probably have rendered effectual service to them and to civilisation, had capacity and a liberal mind availed against the designs of murderers, conspirators, and liars — creatures abounding under all Asiatic governments.

Dutch efforts against piracy.

While the English confined their political operations to the north-west coast of Borneo, the Dutch continued to follow the piratical fleets through the different seas of the Archipelago, and few of their victories were gained by sea, which did not acquire for them an additional dominion on the land. In November, 1843, the steam ship *Phœnix* carefully explored the waters of Solombo and Pulo Laut, of the Kangeang Isles, and the Straits of Lombok, falling in near Sumanap with six pirate vessels, which engaged her in a severe conflict. The flotilla was entirely destroyed, and many of the buccaneers were killed and wounded.[1] At the same time an expedition cruized from Rhio after a fleet of pirates who had ravaged the coasts and islands of the Straits of Malacca, as far as Pinang, and taken refuge with their booty in the Tungkal river, kingdom of Jambi, Sumatra. The sultan of that state, when summoned to explain his behaviour, declared he knew not that the freebooters were located in his territory, that he would assist the objects of the expedition, and free all such captives as might be sold there.[2] The fleet was driven from its retreat, and nearly all the prisoners were recovered; but it became evident that the princes of Linga still favoured piracy, and participated in its gains. The son of the Tumangong of Mapar, indeed, had equipped several marauding expeditions, and burnt a Chinese ship on that coast. The sultan, indeed, delivered him up, with ten other guilty chiefs; but this was probably in simple accordance with the usual policy of despotism, which sacrifices its instruments to escape the responsibility of its crimes. About the same period, a brig of Macassar visited the island of Kalatoa, in search of a fleet of thirty prahus which had been plundering on the neighbouring sea. All that could be found was one newly-built war-vessel, of the kind called *Penjajap*, expressly adapted for piracy. It was about

Its great success.

Pirate nests in Sumatra.

Linga pirates.

Isle of Kalatoa.

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[1] Stoll, *Rapport*, 1843.

[2] Temminck, ii. 263.

fifty feet long, with two banks of oars, and was destroyed by its captors.

Narrative of adventure with pirates

To the same year belongs an episode in the history of Indian piracy which clearly illustrates the character of that system, which misinformed writers represent to be too contemptible for a British navy to be employed in suppressing. On the 9th of May, an English whaler, the *Sarah Elizabeth*, commanded by Captain Billinghurst, and owned by Thomas Ward, of London, cast anchor before Amfuang, forty miles from Kupang, in Timor, where supplies of fresh water and provisions were to be taken in. Three days afterwards, two boats manned by two officers and fourteen men, were sent on shore with this object. They had not been many moments employed in cutting wood, when five huge prahus, followed by several others of inferior size, appeared at the entrance of the bay, and debarked a troop of men, who speedily put the boats' crews to flight. Two officers, John Adams and Ebenezer Edwards, with an apprentice, Thomas Gale, fell into their hands. This scene had been witnessed from the ship, where guns had been mounted on the bridge; but in the confusion, no cartridges were to be found. The pirates shortly reunited their forces, and the company of the *Sarah Elizabeth,* picking up their seven comrades who had escaped, took to the open sea in boats, while the freebooters swarmed over the deserted ship, and plundered it of every article on which they set a value. Captain Billinghurst, meeting three whaling ships, profited by their protection to return to his vessel, but this had been ransacked and set on fire. Accordingly, he could only return with the crew to Kupang, where he procured necessaries, and was taken in the *Eleonora* to Batavia.

Escape.

On the 10th of July, Ebenezer Edwards escaped from his captors, and with the assistance of some Biaju fishers, reached Menado, in Celebes. He had been five weeks in the hands of the pirates, and gave a curious report of his adventures. He and his companions, with their arms and legs bound, were taken in prahus towards the deserted ship, released from their bonds, and forced to mount on deck. The pirates then demanded opium, rice, and money; and being assured that such things were not on board, broke every lock, pillaged the vessel of everything they considered worth taking away,—powder, arms, sails, &c.; and loaded with their plunder the only remaining boat. They then once more tied their prisoners hand and foot, set fire to the dismantled hull, and rowed away, ranging along the coast of Timor. It seemed as though they were in pursuit of the remaining company of the *Sarah Elizabeth*, for they followed them far towards Celebes, taking in fresh water at various little isles by the way. In forty-eight hours they reached Bouton. During the voyage, one of the large prahus disappeared, on what account Edwards was not able to discover. The flotilla he was in, was pursued on quitting Bouton, by another squadron of pirates, though without success. While remaining on the coast of that island, the freebooters occupied themselves principally in fishing, though on one occasion making a descent on land, they carried off several prisoners, besides a number of bamboo cases filled with gold dust.

Picture of pirate life.

Pirate armament.

The prahu in which Edwards was embarked, carried four swivel pieces, one large gun, some muskets, thirty-six men, and eight prisoners. Among the company were some persons who appeared of a superior class, and exercised various degrees of authority over the rest, passing the day in smoking opium, without sharing the labours of navigation. Several times, however, the

Englishman was drafted from one vessel into another,—being sold, he imagined, in succession to different chiefs. He suffered no harsh treatment, though showing himself disinclined for labour; but the food allowed him was nothing more than a little water, and rice so mouldy as to be scarcely eatable. As far as he was able to learn, his captors came from Bolangugi; and the last place they stayed at was Pulo Banca, a little island to the north of Menado. There Edwards escaped in one of the boats which had belonged to the *Sarah Elizabeth,* and the Dutch authorities at Menado, furnishing him liberally with all he required, restored him to a British settlement. What became of his companions in captivity is unknown.[1]

A. D. 1844. Proceedings of Rajah Brooke. Sir William Parker.

While the *Dido* pursued other courses for a short period, Mr. Brooke proceeded to Singapore, to recruit his health. Hence he went to Pinang, where Sir William Parker, the admiral who had led seventy-five sail of the British navy into the populous interior of China, and gained there a reputation which ambition well might prize, was concerting an expedition to Sumatra. The people of Qualla Battu, who pillaged the American ship *Friendship,* had committed an act of piracy on an English merchant vessel, and the king of Achin was called on to make restitution for the injury. He evaded the negotiation, and sought to elude by delay the necessity of redress. But the commander-in-chief knew how to deal with a piratical barbarian, and when diplomacy failed sent two brigs, under the Honourable George Hastings, to accomplish with gunpowder the object in view. Mr. Brooke accompanied the expedition, which sailed first to Qualla Battu. One more attempt at negotiation was made without success; the

Expedition to Sumatra. Piracy at Gualla Batta.

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[1] Groot, *Moniteur*, ii. 35.

Attack on the town.

Piracy at Murdu.

place was attacked; the chief's dwelling and the principal buildings were fired, and the ships proceeded to Murdu, where the *Robert Spankie* had a few months previously been pillaged. A plain demand for reparation was there met by a positive refusal, and the natives fiercely contested the privilege they had assumed of robbing the trader. They fired from behind a screen of jungle at the boats, as they moved up the river, killing two and wounding eight. Mr. Brooke was himself wounded in two places — the head and the arm, but numbers of the enemy fell, the town was captured and destroyed, and the brigs left a signal memorial of retributive justice.[1]

Town captured and destroyed.

In July the rajah was again at Sarawak, where the promise of civilisation had increased during a long enjoyment of tranquillity. The town was grown to three times its original magnitude; neat and picturesque wide-eaved cottages were sprinkled in all directions amid spots of graceful scenery; a store of English merchandise had been opened for barter with the natives; the Malay population, with foreign and domestic trade, gold-washing and working antimony, enjoyed an easy and pleasurable existence. Their numbers had more than doubled, poverty was unknown, and crime very rare. Forced labour no longer existed among them, they paid no taxes, and were only called on to serve in boats against the spoilers of their homes. The Chinese were comfortable and peaceful, and the circulation of gold in currency exhibited a sign of prosperity. Robberies, once of continual occurrence, had dwindled to an average of six or eight in a year, and altogether industry, peace, and content, the successors of indolence,

Growth of Sarawak.

Cottages.

Traffic.

Industry.

Improved social condition.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 74. Mundy, i. 360.

anarchy, and rebellion, displayed the contrast between just and profligate rule.

But around Sarawak lay a country infested by piratical populations. To the north, a succession of rivers formed the seats of government of the half-bred Arab chiefs who conducted the ravages of Dyak piracy. On the Linga Sheriff Jaffer governed a small community of Malays. In the interior the banks were occupied by the Balow tribe,—aborigines, not of a marauding character, but perpetually at war with Sarebas, and occasionally with Sakarran—principally defensive, however, on their part. At the junction of the Batang Lupar and the Sakarran Sheriff Muller governed about a hundred and fifty Malays and nominally the Sakarrans; but they refused his control, carried on piracy at their will, and were encouraged by the Malays. These Dyaks were, probably, not fewer in number than ten thousand, those of the Batang Lupar being less predatory than those of the Sakarran, who leagued always with the Sarebas—volunteers from the one invariably joining any enterprise originated by the other. Their combined fleet was composed of more than two hundred prahus. Since the defeat of the Sarebas, however, and the destruction of Paku, few of them had then gone back to their old vocation. The next river is the Kaluka, subject to the chief of the Rejang, and so in the government of the tribes, bearing the name of the stream on which their settlements were planted.

Piratical neighbours.

Piratical Dyaks.

Sakarrans.

Their forces.

During the absence of the English Rajah, piracy had continued to desolate that quarter of Borneo. Not only had traders been captured on the high sea, but the coast had been ravaged, and one incident will serve to display the nature of the evils inflicted. Three of Sheriff Sahib's boats received intelligence that a Dyak family, subjects

Progress of buccaneering.

of Sarawak, had come down from the interior to cultivate a small patch of land near the beach, and for safety had constructed a hut amid the branches of a huge tree on the skirts of the wood. These poor people the buccaneers resolved to destroy. They approached the place with their diabolical war yells, as the children were playing in the jungle, and the man was observing them from his eyrie in the tree. They called out to him to come down; he would not, and they shot him dead. Some of them then mounted to the Dyak's nest, murdered the woman, took the heads of their two victims, and returned jubilant to their boats. Fortunately the children hid safely in the jungle, and succeeded in reaching Sarawak, or their slaughter would have added an illustration to the innocence and simplicity which win the hearts of philanthropists in England, to invoke the sympathy of this nation in favour of those who are famous only for such dark and bloody crimes.[1]

Anecdote of piracy.

Sheriff Sahib.

Sheriff Sahib, born at Sakarran, was invested at Bruné with the government of Sadong, where a miserable and oppressed population long groaned under his cruel rule. For many years he was supreme over all the rivers of the north-west coast, tyrannising over the Malays, destroying the Dyaks, holding communication with the Lanun buccaneers, and sending the Sakarran hordes on piratical adventures, even as far as Banjarmassim. He became, indeed, independent of the authority which had made him a prince, and exercised sovereign power, with that brutal energy which is the character of crude despotism. When, however, Mr. Brooke became Rajah of Sarawak, the influence of Sheriff Sahib declined; a hostile element was introduced within his sphere of action, and the visit of the

His cruel rule.

His power.

Its decline.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 80.

Dido to Sarebas completed his ruin at Sadong. He could no longer act as lord paramount of the coast, and prepared to migrate with his vessels of war and forces to the Sakarran river. He was distinctly told that the Sakarrans themselves would soon be chastised, but the recall of Captain Keppel to China gave him time to plan new schemes, and when Mr. Brooke returned to Sarawak in May, 1844, all preparations had been made. Two hundred Dyak boats and fifteen Malay prahus, armed with guns, were ready to transport a whole community of pirates to the Sakarran river. They were lying in a small stream, near the entrance of Sadong, and completely cleared the sea of traders and fishers, while they plundered many places on the land. An opportunity of attacking him did not arrive, and he added to the catalogue of his achievements an expedition into the interior, in which eight villages were burned, many men killed, and numbers of women led with their young children into captivity.[1] The pirate chief then went to his haunt in the Sakarran river, and fortified himself at a town called Patusan. Muda Hassim, at this time, wrote a statement, declaring that the piracies of the Sakarran Dyaks under their foreign leaders had made it unsafe for boats to navigate those waters; that many prahus intended to be despatched for trade at the British settlement of Singapore, had been prevented, and that unless war was carried on with perseverance against these lawless wretches, every hope of prosperity in that quarter of Borneo must be disappointed.[2]

Expedition to punish him.

His ravages.

Injury to trade.

For the picturesque and moving narrative of the operations which followed, in which the *Phlegethon* and *Dido* were employed reference can only he made to

Captain Keppel's second expedition.

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[1] Brooke, Mundy, i. 376.

[2] Keppel, ii. 84.

the record of the expedition under Captain Keppel. All that is here necessary is to note the course of the enterprise.

Services of Keppel.

Early in August 1844, the crusade was commenced. The town of Patusan was attacked, the forts were stormed through the embrasures, and sixty-four brass guns were found within, besides several others of iron. The place was destroyed by fire, Sheriff Sahib was driven to Santung, on the Pontiana, and Sheriff Muller to the upper banks of the Batang Lupar. Near the dwelling of the former was a magazine containing about two tons of gunpowder, besides several small barrels, branded "Dartford," exactly in the same state as they left the manufactory in England. Eight new forts were found in course of preparation; but the sudden attacks had left the pirates no leisure to complete their defences; the key of an extensive river, celebrated as their worst resort, was taken, the habitations of 5,000 people were burned, four strongholds were destroyed, vast quantities of arms and ammunition were captured, and the great chief utterly ruined. Sheriff Muller was assaulted in his own town, and amid the immense variety of plunder were observed some desks of English manufacture — one with a brass plate engraved "Mr. Wilson," evidently among the spoils of some rifled ship.

Pirate haunts.

Result of the expedition.

Plunder.

Attack on Sakarran.

These enterprises were immediately followed by an advance up the Sakarran river, where a great conflict took place, thousands being engaged on both sides, — a mass of boats drifting along the stream, while the Dyaks were spearing and stabbing each other, decapitated trunks, and heads without bodies, scattered about in ghastly profusion.[1] The result of all these operations was most satisfactory. The Sakarrans were

Fight in the river.

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[1] Keppel, ii. 111.

restrained from piracy; the Sarebas became willing to trade, and peace for awhile was established along the north-west coast.

Return of peace.

Early in October, to carry out the views of policy he had long entertained, Mr. Brooke sent Muda Hassim with his followers to Bruné. The *Phlegethon* steamer conveyed him thither, and as she approached the town, indications of an insolent demeanour on the part of the sultan were observed. However, no hostilities occurred; the chiefs covered their sentiments with abundant flowers of speech, the people begged that Rajah Brooke would remain and govern them conjointly with Muda Hassim, and the sultan gave a paper offering to cede to the British government the small island of Labuan, at the entrance of the Bruné river.

Rajah Brooke's policy.

Transactions with Bruné.

Again returning to Sarawak in the middle of November, the Rajah found its prosperity daily increasing. Within two months 500 families had fled to the shelter of its equal laws, and tokens of affection and respect were exhibited by every tribe in the province. Peace undisturbed, and trade expanding, stimulated the industry of the Dyaks; friendly communications were carried on with chiefs of tribes beyond the boundary, and altogether no want remained but the support of the British government, in the conduct of a policy directed to the destruction of corrupt and baneful influences along the maritime tract from Sarawak to Bruné.

Prosperity of Sarawak.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1845. Correspondence with the British government.

To obtain the support of his government Mr. Brooke had conducted a long negotiation with the ministry at home. He was confident; they were cautious: his views were bold, because they were clear; theirs were timid, because they were suspicious of the result. While, however, he was speculating on the chances of a close to all prospect of official recognition, a note from Lord Aberdeen arrived appointing him confidential agent of the British government in Borneo, and instructing him to proceed to Bruné with a letter for the sultan, on the subject of piracy. He at one visited the capital, then divided as it were into white roses and red, " the sultan representing the House of York, Muda Hassim that of Lancaster." Its politics included only the question of who was to fill the throne, and who was to advise it, since no reference was made to principles of administration, or to the wishes and requirements of the people. The position of these men, therefore, may be explained by a brief sketch of dynastic history.

Rajah Brooke appointed a political agent. His instructions. Factions at Bruné.

The Bruné dynasty.

Sultan Omar of Bruné had amongst others two sons, Mohammed Tuzudeen and Mohammed Kanzul; the former being the elder, succeeded his father and had one legitimate son, Jamalul Alum, with several illegitimate, Pangeran Usop, the great enemy of Mr. Brooke, being of the number. Mohammed Kanzul, second son of Omar, had by his first wife Rajah Api, with Nur Alum, a daughter. By his second he had Muda Hassim and Muda Mohammed, and by his third Pangeran Budrudeen, Pangeran Jellaludeen, and Pangeran Ishmael, together with some dozens of illegitimate offspring. Mohammed Tuzudeen, the sultan, when his son Jamalul Alum became a man, abdicated, and Jamalul succeeding, married his cousin Nur Alum. They had a son, the present sultan, Omar Ali Sefeddin, who was left an orphan in his infancy. On the death of his son Tuzudeen re-ascended the throne, and reigned for the rest of his life, being succeeded by Kanzul Alum, who died and left the crown to Rajah Api, who fell a victim to an insurrection of the people, stirred up by Nur Alum, his sister. Omar Ali Sefeddin then became sultan; but having no legitimate issue, Muda Hassim was his legitimate successor. Pangeran Usop, however, aspired to deprive him of this inheritance, and the whole aim of British policy was to secure the succession for Muda Hassim, who was favourable to trade, instead of his rival, who was a promoter of piracy.

The succession.

Right of Muda Hassim.

So notorious was the connection of Bruné with the piratical system, that Sheriff Osman, the great Lanun chief of Malludu bay, was widely reported through the Archipelago as preparing an immense armament to attack the city, for having engaged by treaty with Great Britain to suppress piracy and the slave trade. Deep alarm was excited among the friends of the English, and when Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane arrived in these seas, Rajah Brooke heard with delight that he was ready to attack Malludu. The dilatory character of the English proceedings, however, impressed their friends at Bruné with an equivocal idea of their good faith, — for no one had a discretionary power to act at once in obedience to the clear necessity which had arrived. Meanwhile the American frigate *Constitution* came into the river, offering a treaty to the sultan — engaging to protect the Bruné government,

Pirates from Bruné.

Sir Thomas Cochrane.

Americans at Bruné.

on condition of a monopoly of coal and permission to trade. A short time would probably have lost the opportunity of securing an influence in that magnificent and wealthy island. Sir Thomas Cochrane — distinguished as an admiral, respected as a man — adopted, however, the most elevated views of his duty as naval commander in the Archipelago. He proceeded with three war-steamers to the capital, demanded reparation for the seizure and imprisonment since the treaty of two British subjects, and was referred to Pangeran Usop as the agent of the whole transaction. He was summoned to come on board the British vessels, and refused; the marines were landed, and a shot was fired through the roof of his house. Nevertheless he refused to make submission; he returned the fire, and in a few moments his house was struck beam from beam by rapid volleys from the broadsides of the *Vixen*. He fled; and twenty guns captured from his stronghold were presented by Sir Thomas Cochrane to Omar Ali and Muda Hassim.

Policy of Sir T. Cochrane.

His demands at the capital.

Attack on Pangeran Usop.

The admiral then proceeded to attack the formidable pirate stronghold in Malludu. Three war-steamers, with a number of boats, entered the bay on the 18th of August. High woody banks rose on either side, except in the Bight, which was swampy and covered with mangroves, amid which several small rivers flowed into the sea. Next day twenty-four boats with 550 marines advanced up the river to a spot where a heavy boom obstructed the way, composed of three immense trees, with the chain cable of a vessel of 300 or 400 tons burden, obviously a capture. A desperate and somewhat protracted struggle took place, the enemy firing with great rapidity and precision, killing eight, and severely wounding fifteen of their assailants. The fort was captured, Sheriff Osman was driven to the hills, and the famous stronghold of Malludu was sacked and

Expedition against Malludu.

Attack.

Defences.

Return.

Action.

destroyed. Several chain cables were found in the town, a long-boat, and two ships' bells, one ornamented with grapes and vine-leaves, and engraved "Wilhelm Ludwig, Bremen." A number of piratical vessels were burnt, twenty-five brass guns captured, several iron pieces, apparently belonging to an European ship, spiked. The effect of this achievement was great in Bruné, where Pangeran Usop, endeavouring to regain his position by force of arms, had been defeated by Budrudeen, and the "British party" established in apparent security, above all its enemies.

Plunder of the town.

While war was thus raging in the sultanate, and in the haunts of the piratical communities, Sarawak continued in peace to flourish under an improved administration; the Dyaks evinced a quiet and tractable disposition; but the Chinese multiplying and prospering, showed themselves inclined on all occasions to defraud their benefactor, and evade their duties to the government. The tribes of the interior, from a scarcity produced by war, were deficiently supplied with food, and Mr. Brooke was compelled to undertake their relief until another harvest time arrived. Among the distressed Dyaks were the Balows, who in November, to return the service of their rulers, captured a fleet of Sakarran pirates, numbering eighteen boats, with an average of thirty men each. Still incidental acts of piracy were at intervals reported, and as soon as the ships of war withdrew from that quarter, the old system sprang up with strength renewed; and in the midst of the general prosperity and increasing happiness of the tribes included within the Sarawak sovereignty, news came that Captain Keppel's operations had merely checked, but by no means crushed the enemies of trade. For, in March, 1846, the Sakarran Dyaks once more put to sea, with a fleet of seventy prahus, and at least twelve hundred men, devastating

Continued happiness of Sarawak.

Chinese settlers.

Balow Dyaks.

Acts of piracy.

A. D. 1846. Sakarran buccaneers.

the coast, "burning villages, carrying off the women and children into slavery, and laying waste the country wherever their arms could reach."[1]

News from Bruné.

On the first of next month arrived intelligence more grievous still, for not to dwell on the depth of the heart's feeling in a man who heard of his chosen friends' assassination, all the policy in Bruné was neutralised by one flagitious crime. In December, 1845, the Sultan Omar Ali, by predilection a pirate, consummated a life of treachery by an atrocious murder. He appointed Muda Hassim successor to the throne, and then, with the aid of his party, cut him off with thirteen other members of the royal family. He then put the city in a state of defence, endeavoured to inveigle an English captain into his hands, and declared himself ready to fire on the British flag whenever it should appear within range of a Bruné gun. The British government at once determined to chastise this insolent and faithless wretch, yet allowed him an opportunity to receive its mission in a friendly manner. The *Agincourt*, 74, the *Iris*, 26, the *Ringdove*, 16, the *Hazard*, 18, the *Royalist*, 10, the steamship *Spiteful*, the *Phlegethon*, and the *Dædalus* were ordered to assemble on that coast, under the command of the able and gallant Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, with Captain Hope Johnstone, Captain Rodney Mundy, Sir William Hoste, Commander Egerton, Lieutenant Reid, Commander Maitland, Mr. Ross, and Captain M'Quahæ, — a formidable squadron, such as the natives of Borneo had never seen before. On the 8th of July the fleet passed the bar, and advanced up the river. It was shortly fired upon from a heavy battery, and the city was then bombarded with balls and rockets until all the people fled; the sultan took

The massacre.

Crimes of the sultan.

British policy.

Expedition against Bruné.

Its leaders.

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[1] Brooke, Mundy, ii. 82.

refuge in the woods, and the capital of his kingdom fell into the hands of the English. They hunted him through the forests and destroyed immense stores of his property.

Fall of Brunć.

The English forces were then employed in a general attack upon the pirates of that coast. The notorious Lanun stronghold of Tampassuk, situated in a charming position, and surrounded by plantations, gardens, and groves, was destroyed, Pandassan was burned, the river Mambakut was traced almost to its source, and numbers of pirate settlements on its banks were laid waste, the chiefs invariably refusing to submit, and the assailants continually finding evidence that the plunder of European ships was stored up in these strongholds of the interior. Neatness, comfort, an appreciation of the picturesque, and the possession of much wealth, are the characteristics of these pirate retreats, described by Captain Mundy, who commanded the expedition against them. His spirited and judicious efforts accomplished a large amount of good on the coast and in the interior.

General attack on pirates.

The free-booters' stronghold.

Rajah Brooke, when the enterprise against the Lanuns was over, returned to Bruné, in order to settle its public affairs. The sultan, fugitive, humbled and deprived of the power to do much ill, might now be safely recalled to his capital. Had there been a man left to succeed to the throne, it is possible that the crimes of Omar Ali might have been punished by deposition; but he had cut off all the virtuous and able chiefs, so that Bruné was deprived of its old government, and remained without the elements to form a new one. The sultan, therefore, within a month of his flight, was permitted to return, writing a humble letter to Mr. Brooke, and another in a penitential tone to renew and ratify his former engagements In November, Sir Thomas Cochrane announced to Captain Mundy that

Rajah Brooke at Bruné.

Sultan restored.

his government was desirous of availing itself of those engagements, and instructed him to take formal possession of Labuan, stationing there a sloop and a steamship, to suppress piracy along the coast from the Sarawak river to the north point of Borneo.[1] Captain Mundy, with perfect judgment and decision, carried through a brief negotiation, and on the 18th of December, 1846, a treaty was signed and sealed: —

Acquisition of Labuan.

Captain Mundy.

Treaty with Bruné.

1. " Peace, friendship, and good understanding shall subsist for ever between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Highness the Sultan of Borneo, and their respective heirs and successors.

2. " His Highness the Sultan hereby cedes in full sovereignty and property to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs and successors for ever, the island of Labuan and its dependencies, the islets adjacent.

3. " The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland hereby engage, in consideration of the cession above specified, to use its best endeavours to suppress piracy and to protect lawful commerce, and the Sultan of Borneo and his ministers promise to afford every assistance to the British authorities.

" Done and concluded at Bruné the 18th day of December, 1846.

" (Signed) " THE SULTAN, OMAR ALI,
" G. RODNEY MUNDY."

Labuan.

The island of Labuan was on the 24th taken formal possession of.

Situation.

The island extends from latitude 5° 11′ to 5° 25′ N., and from longitude 115° 10′ E. to 115° 22′ E., running in a NN.E. direction. Its length is about eleven miles, and its extreme breadth from five and a half to six, forming a triangle, which narrows to a point at the northern end. The coast line is about thirty, and the area about forty square miles; the surface undulating with several hills, the principal about eighty feet in height. A soil of moderate fertility, light yellow clay and sandstone, was then completely covered with a jungle or wood composed of various trees, among which the rattan and the camphor are of considerable importance. Cocoa and betel-nuts have been planted and thrive well, the island being adapted for the growth of all kinds of palms. Flowers and parasitical plants were found blooming profusely amid the jungle; fresh water, of pure and sweet quality, is plentiful, and coal in inexhaustible abundance promises to enrich a new British settlement in the further East.

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[1] Cochrane to Mundy, August 1846.

Extent.

Surface.

Capabilities.

Vegetation.

Water.

Labuan.

The circumstances of Rajah Brooke's visit to England, where he was welcomed with a general ovation of applause, and of his return to Singapore, where he received the honour of knighthood, are familiar to the public, and offer no particular point for our consideration. In Sarawak he was, on his return, met by the acclamation of the people, who shouted along the banks of the river, fired guns, waved flags, and sang innumerable songs as he passed up to the town. His first care was to superintend the arrangement of the British community in Labuan, which assumed shape and position. He next applied himself to clearing a ground for the future operations of the settlement; and the greatest object to be accomplished was to secure the traders of the neighbouring coast from the ravages of piracy.

A. D. 1848. Visit of Rajah Brooke to England. Public honours. His knighthood. Welcome at Sarawak.

Settlement of Labuan.

CHAPTER XVI.[1]

Piratical character of the Serebas.

The proceedings of Sir James Brooke in 1849 gave rise to a very important question:—were the Serebas pirates? The evidence of this fact is clear. It was exhibited in the Admiralty Court of Singapore, and Sir Christopher Rawlinson, an able and an upright judge, decided without reserve that the July expedition, instead of soiling the British name with a crime, added to its reputation by an achievement in the service of mankind. Three sworn Commissioners were appointed to receive depositions, and when these had performed their duty, so undeniable was the testimony brought forward that Sir Christopher excused Captain Farquhar's counsel from addressing the Court, since, he said, the evidence was overwhelming, and no shadow of a doubt remained. Suip, Abong Bit, Abong Buyong, Abong Hassan, Sajong, and many other witnesses, men engaged in commerce, or connected with the pirates themselves, swore to the buccaneering character, not only of the Serebas and Sakarran in general, but of the very fleet which was intercepted and destroyed in July, 1849, on the coast of Borneo.

Evidence of it.

Population of the north-west coast of Borneo.

There are two points on the north-west coast, which form a shallow gulf, of considerable extent—Tanjong Datu and Tanjong Siriki. Between them several rivers find a passage into the sea—the Sarawak, the Sadong, the Batang Lupar, the Serebas, the Kaluka, and the Rejang. The Dyaks of Serebas, of Sakarran, the Balows and the scattered Sibuyows, belong all to one great tribe, and the Serebas hold the interior of the stream of that name, with the country round the sources of the Lipat — a branch of the Kaluka — while the Sakarrans dwell along the left branch of the Batang Lupar, and along the Kanowit, the Katibas, and other tributaries of the Rejang. There are means of land communication between these communities; and when an expedition is prepared on the waters of one stream, all who desire to join from any other cross through the woods, with arms in their hands, and assist in manning the flotilla.

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[1] The whole of this chapter is re-written and condensed from a manuscript narrative, by an eye-witness on the scene of the transactions.

Variety of tribes.

A short notice of the various tribes and their relative condition may assist towards a view of the results produced by the piratical system on the population of that coast.

The Balows.

The Balows reside partly on a small eminence overlooking the Linga branch of the Batang Lupar, and in villages scattered through the interior; while the Sibuyows dwell in detached communities on the Lundu, the Quop, the Samarahan, and other streams. The former alone, of all the Dyaks, are powerful enough to defend themselves, for they are warlike and brave, though they have never been piratical; but their numbers have thinned under the freebooter's sword, so that a few years might have forced them to subjection. The Sibuyows of the Lundu also successfully resisted the marauders, yet the whole of those tribes might at length have been compelled to abandon their rivers, had not the thirty-two pounders of the *Nemesis* inflicted chastisement on the enemies of peace and industry in that quarter of Borneo.

The Sibuyows.

Serebas and Sakarran.

The Serebas and Sakarran form essentially one tribe, their names being derived from mere geographical accident; but the former were the most piratical, and the most ferocious. They commenced that vocation about a century ago, while the latter did not follow in this course until sixty years later; and though since then both have invariably shared in piratical enterprises, the Sakarrans acknowledged a nominal allegiance to Bruné to a very recent period. The Dyaks were proselytised from honourable pursuits to a trade of plunder by those half-bred Arab chiefs, who are the most energetic and the most profligate inhabitants of the Archipelago. They created a predilection for maritime adventure among people entirely unaccustomed to the sea; they taught the architecture of war-boats, and led them on their marauding expeditions. They and their Malay associates, accompanying the native hordes, supporting them with their fire-arms, and supplying them with aid, long continued to divide among themselves an imperial share of the spoil. Lately, however, the Dyaks learned their own strength and refused to receive the dictation of their foreign allies, so that the dividends of plunder were made more equal among them. The Sakarrans have few Malays in their community, but the Serebas have many, continually recruited from the scoundrels of every neighbouring river, whom crime and gambling have driven from the society of less corrupted men.

Their Malay allies.

Dividends of plunder.

Pirate population.

It is difficult to estimate the population inhabiting the banks of these piratical rivers; but the Serebas may safely be reckoned at 6,000 fighting men; the Sakarrans at an equal number; the mixed tribes of the Kanowit at 4,000; and the Katibas and Poè at about the same, which gives 20,000 warriors, or an aggregate of 120,000 souls, spread over an extensive country.

Their own computation is in harmony with that of the English traveller, from whose notes I derive this account, and he has invariably found that in rating the inhabitants of villages, they fall below the truth.

Resistance of the Balows.

The Balows of the Linga, who once furnished a squadron of thirty-four war boats with an average of at least thirty men in each, are more numerous than is generally supposed. In resisting the pirates their defensive attitude, and the erection of their houses on an eminence, has given them an advantage, though in 1846 all the lower portion of their town was captured. They have formed for some years a slight check on the smaller enterprises undertaken from those rivers.

Ravages of the Serebas.

Fields of plunder.

Market for their booty.

Methods of war.

The ravages of the Serebas and Sakarran on the Katibas and Kanowit, have constantly been carried on along the borders of the Rejang, the Egan, and the neighbouring streams. The Rejang and the Egan form a fertile delta, thickly peopled by the industrious and quiet Millanows who produce much of the Bornean sago brought to the market of Singapore. Here was, for the pirates, a profitable field of plunder. They annually captured many richly laden prahus, freighted with the produce of these great producing districts, to be sold at the British settlement, in Sambas, in Pontianah, or among the Anambas or Natunas isles. They surprised the Dyak villages by night, to carry off heads, but though the Millanows frequently defended themselves with great courage they have never retaliated the attack. Is this an "intertribual war"?

The Sakarrans.

The Sakarrans, to a late period, were, as I have said, in nominal subjection to Bruné, and sometimes bore the sultan's commission to punish refractory tribes. They never, however, paid him tribute, or obeyed his orders unless there appeared a good prospect of heads and

Relations with Bruné.

plunder for themselves. No system can be conceived more vile than that by which the Bornean chiefs held the lash over the miserable people cursed by subjection to their sway. When oppression had produced revolt, they threatened to let loose on the disaffected population a horde of savage pirates, and if the menace did not serve its end, a bloody razzia carried death and devastation over the province. While Sir James Brooke, in 1841, was at Sarawak, more than a hundred boats entered the river, and were allowed to proceed into the interior, under pretence of attacking their enemies, but in reality to rob and murder the unprotected tribes. He prevented the expedition, and some hundreds of human beings were thus, probably, spared from massacre or captivity.[1] Two years before the whole coast was infested, and the Serebas and Sakarrans, unmolested, carried on their depredations[2] almost half-way round the island, along 1,100 miles of coast. Dutch subjects were murdered at Banjarmassim, the sultan of Sambas, unable to coerce, endeavoured to conciliate them, but as they had resisted his arms, they despised his negotiations, and as many as 200 Chinese were sometimes killed in a single attack. Twelve years ago the rivers of Sambas were in a state of perpetual blockade, the poor people never venturing below the booms, even to fish along the shore.[3]

Pirate fleet at Sarawak.

Pirate depredations.

Influence on the coast.

Testimony of Keppel.

Captain Keppel, whose name is now fixed as a point of history in the annals of the Indian Archipelago, saw and was convinced by the living witness of actual occurrences that the piratical cruizes of the Serebas and Sakarran were depopulating the coast, and destroying its trade. His exertions procured a remission of the plague; but the flying attacks of the *Dido* served only as a check. In 1847, they continued to plunder, and when Sir James Brooke left for England threw off all restraint, and ran violently into their old vocation. When he returned to Singapore in May 1848, there was a large pirate fleet cruizing off the coast of Borneo, committing the usual ravages; and at a large meeting of native chiefs at Sarawak, Sir James Brooke and Captain Keppel formally pledged themselves to endeavour by force of arms, if not by negotiation, to mitigate the sufferings then endured by the peaceful tribes of Borneo. To the people of Sarawak there was owing the duty of a ruler to his subjects; to the Sultan of Bruné the fulfilment of a treaty; to the Dutch a regard for the convention of 1824; to the British nation, and especially to its manufacturers and merchants, the protection of commercial enterprise; and to all humanity the interposition of an imperial power between rude and brutal freebooters, and an unhappy, harmless race, oppressed by their cupidity without scruple, and their cruelty without remorse.

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[1] Keppel, i. 225.

[2] Ibid. i. 255. 262. 271. 276. 294. 312.; ii. 79. 135. Mundy, 376., *cum multis aliis*.

[3] See Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 269. Depositions of Abong Bit, 3. Abong Bayong, 4. Sujong, 6. Irtal, 7. Assing, 8.

Fruits of his exertions.

Return of piracy.

Meeting with chiefs.

Duty of Sir James Brooke.

During the first six months of the year 1849, more than 500 people were killed by the pirates in their double attack on Sadong, and the Millanow towns of the Rejang river. Many valuable cargoes were also taken, and numerous murders committed among the Chinese of Sambas. It was then that Sir James Brooke received a letter from the Sultan of Bruné, with which the English public has not yet been presented. It is valuable as a third testimony from that prince to the piratical character of the Serebas and Sakarran tribes.

The outrages of half-a-year.

Letter from the sultan.

"From Sultan Omar Ali Saphudeen, the ruler of Bruné and its dependencies, together with Pangeran Anak Mumin, and Pangeran Muda Mohammed, to Sir James Brooke, Commissioner, and at present governing Labuan.

(After compliments.)

"We have to inform our friend respecting the Dyaks of Sakarran, and the Dyaks of Serebas. Great is our distress to think of their doings, which are evil in the extreme, continually sweeping with destruction the coast of Bruné, and pirating on the sea, plundering property, taking the heads of men: exceedingly bad have been their doings, and in consequence of which our subjects, sailing on the high seas for the purposes of trade, experience great difficulty. We sent Pangeran Surah to the coast, and he was attacked — likewise numerous other Nakodahs. They attacked Nakodah Mohammed, and plundered his prahu of every article. On the way to Singapore, Mohammed Jaffer was attacked, and Tanjong Siriki; the pirates took the prahu; the crew abandoned her. Nakodah Matudin from Muka, bound to Singapore, was attacked at Telluk Mallanow.

"Such are the reasons for which we make this information to our friend, so that if possible our friend may check the doings of these Dyaks, and render it safe for our subjects seeking their livelihood at sea. This is all. We have nothing to send but our prayers — day and night; also every compliment. Mohammedan year 1265 (corresponding with A. D. 1849–50).

"(True translation.)

"(Signed) J. CHURCH,

"Resident Councillor at Singapore."

Towards the middle of February 1849, Sir James

Preparations for a new expedition.

Anecdote.

Pirate captured.

Pirate atrocities.

Brooke left Labuan to prepare for the coming season, when Captain Keppel was expected to resume operations against the pirates on the north-west coast of Borneo. Three villages in Sarawak had lately been destroyed; numbers of trading boats had been seized, and more than 300 men, women, and children slaughtered. Every day new intelligence arrived. On the 27th of February, a young Serebas pirate was brought in. He had been discovered floating at sea, on a nipah palm. His companions, after capturing a Millanow village, had accidentally left him behind, and he had embarked on the trunk of this tree with the hope that a tide would bear him up the river, but a strong ebb carried him away, and he fell into the hands of the English. They sent him back, with a strong admonition to his tribe, warning them that an attack would be made on their haunts if they refused to cease from pillaging those shores. Next day there was found near the mouth of the river a Sarawak boat, abandoned. Her crew of six men had disappeared; but there was blood on the planks, a man's finger on the deck, and on the side clots of hair and gore, where the victims had been beheaded. Again, on the next day, a small prahu, with eight men and one woman on board, was paddling along the coast, close in shore, among the mangrove bushes. Suddenly it came upon a large Malay vessel lying in the entrance of a creek, and approached her without suspicion. As the boat drew near, however, several Serebas craft issued from their retreat, and spears were hurled upon the unfortunate voyagers, of whom two were killed, while the others, abandoning their little skiff, fled for refuge into the jungle.

Devastation of Sadong.

On the 2nd of March, news came that the town of Sadong, in a district of Borneo Proper, situated about twenty miles from the Sarawak river, and forty-five miles from the sea, had been attacked. It contained a large population of Dyaks and Malays, and was one of considerable strength; but the harvest season had attracted the people into their fields, and they were reaping in their crops of rice. While engaged in this innocent occupation, they were suddenly overwhelmed by a swarm of Serebas Dyaks, who came with clamour and fury, murdering, pillaging, head-taking, and laying waste the homes of their victims. Farm by farm was desolated, and only one was successfully defended. This belonged to a chief named Abong Sadik, who had taken precautions, built a strong village of large size, raised it on huge posts thirty feet in height, and kept fire arms ready in his followers' hands. On the morning that was fatal to the rest of his tribe, Abong Sadik's people were gathering in their rice, when a pirate squadron swept up the reach, and made forward to the lofty house. Twenty-seven of the reapers fled to their elevated nest; the others escaped into the jungle, and the buccaneers, when three of their number had been killed, retreated, crying out to Abong Sadik that at a future day they would cut him and his family off the face of the earth.

Incident of the attack.

One of the boats was commanded by a famous Malay ruffian, who had assumed the costume of a Dyak, become a head-hunter, and degraded himself to an indulgence in the most brutal propensities of man. While his followers were robbing a farm-house, he saw a girl running towards the jungle, and gave chace to capture her. She fled nimbly before him, and he, encumbered by his heavy iron-headed spear, planted it in the path, and sped more swiftly in the pursuit. His muscular limbs soon brought him up to the trembling and terrified creature, whom he seized in his arms, and carried triumphantly towards the place where he had left his weapon. Little, however, did he suspect that

Anecdote.

his movements had been watched by the girl's father, who, emerging from the bushes where he crouched concealed, laid hold of the spear, and waiting in ambush until the captor of his child returned, allowed him to pass the spot. Then, springing from his concealment, he hurled the spear, which, true to its mark, pierced the pirate in the neck and struck him dead to the ground. Leaving the body, the old man escaped with his daughter into the jungle.

Artifices of the pirates.

An artifice used by the Serebas to increase the trophies of this bloody achievement exhibits all the cunning and treachery of the savage nature. A number of them lingering to acquire the last spoil of the attack, seized some of the river sampans, put on the large hat commonly worn by Malays when working in the sun, and paddling gently down the stream, called out to the inmates of the farm-houses as they passed, "Come out, come out, we have come to fetch you." The poor creatures fancying that these were friends from the town, rushed from their hiding-places, and were speared or cut to pieces on the water's edge. The success of this adventure, and the large number of Malay heads procured, gladdened the hearts of the Serebas. A hundred, at least, of the Sadong people were killed, and many of their young women carried into slavery. The heart of mercy itself refuses pity to the murderers of this innocent community, and the spoilers of its peace. On the last day of February a numerous and industrious population was gathering in a harvest sown by their own hands, along the fertile banks of a charming river, and on the first day of March every house was plundered, and scattered through the fields were the mangled bodies of the reapers, and in the villages the headless trunks of aged women, and children too young for captivity.

Their treachery.

Melancholy vestiges of their inroads.

Insecurity of the coast.

From this an idea may be conceived of the insecurity prevailing along the Bornean coast. Not a day passed without news reaching Sarawak of some village burned or some prahu seized. Sometimes the inhabitants and the crew escaped by running into the jungle, but often only one or two escaped to tell the tale. After the attack on Sadong, the Serebas hovered along the coast, driving large numbers of people to seek refuge in Sarawak, then considered the only safe place in that quarter of the island. From the river of Mati alone there came twenty prahus crowded with men, women, and children. They said they could not live at their own town, for although they had beaten off many attacks, and one at the beginning of the year, they lost numbers of men on every occasion, and were tired of this precarious life, with continual terror haunting their minds. They had therefore come, they added, to live in Sarawak until the English had subdued the Serebas and Sakarran pirates. They then quietly absorbed themselves in the population of 15,000, which the wise and beneficent rule of Rajah Brooke had attracted to a town where 300 discontented inhabitants formerly suffered under the feeble and destructive tyranny of their native rulers. But the whole coast was in a state of alarm; trade was stopped; there was a panic among the poorer classes, and every voice cried out for a fulfilment of the British pledge. The pirates themselves derided our countrymen's inaction. "Where are the English?" they called out to the villagers whom they assaulted. "They have talked of attacking us for four or five years, but they are afraid to come!" Secure in their rapid streams, in their dense jungles, in their unrivalled boats, and in their immense force, they despised every threat, and proceeded from crime to crime until the sovereignty of that region was nearly their own. In

Daily outrages.

Extent of the buccaneering operations.

General results.

Security of the pirates.

the month of Rhamadan, especially, they feared nothing from the Mohammedan Malays, and were astounded to find that during that sacred festival, any operations were carried on.

Preparations of the English. The Nemesis.

But the English were now prepared to redeem their faith before the peaceful tribes of Borneo. On the 19th of March, the *Nemesis* arrived; and on the 25th, every preparation being complete, thirty Sarawak boats assembled opposite Sir James's house. Decked with flags and streamers, they enlivened a picturesque scene; and the beating of their tatawas and gongs awoke the martial echoes from every surrounding hill. In the evening they dropped down to the Quop, and at ebb-tide were all anchored near the *Nemesis*.

A squadron assembled.

Flotilla from Singapore.

Next morning the flotilla got under weigh — two cutters and two paddle-box boats leading the van. A labyrinth of rivers here disembogue into the sea, winding and turning with infinite changes through a level delta. The want of roads is not felt in a country where so many streams form channels for trade and intercommunication among the people; and to the defence of this trade auxiliaries every now and then arrived. Towards evening, the expedition was at the mouth of the Samaharahan, where a slashing tide swept boat after boat along, some anchoring amid the surf, others falling foul of each other; all the natives shouting, and every element combined to perfect a scene of wild confusion. As evening advanced, the clamour sank into a buzz which gradually died away as the watches were set, and one by one the warriors fell asleep. In each of the scattered vessels was a small fire, which threw a red gleam over the water, and shone softly like a star in the bed of the river. Everything, says the journal of a participator in the excitement of these adventures, was hushed and still, except that afar off the clear and distinct note of the Selatuk sounded like the stroke of an axe, conti-

Singular scene.

Mooring on the river.

nually repeated in the wood. At intervals, the rushing tide would sweep a prahu from its moorings; loud cries of "row! row!" would fill the air, and the rapid splash of the oars would show how difficult it was to stem the swift current of the river. Then, again, quietness succeeded, though occasionally broken by the sound of a gong, heard remote; the low monotonous chaunting of the Koran, or the tinkling bell, marking the passage of every hour from on board the steamer.[1]

Night sounds.

On the 27th, the expedition advanced to the creek of Sambangan, a famous resort of the Serebas and Sakarrans. There the whole fleet assembled to pass the night, and no particular event occurred. Next morning the grey light gradually streamed over the sky, and at intervals far between, a man would stretch, rise, and look around him; then would come a little bustle of preparation; the anchor would be weighed, the men would take their places at the paddle or the oar, slowly leave the creek, and take their way within twenty yards of the trees that overhang this jungle-belted shore.[2] At first few natives went ahead of the English boats, though a dense mass of Dyak and Malay prahus floated on in the rear; but every now and then a swift, long, snake-shaped bangkong darted past, flying under the impulse of thirty or forty paddles, while the heavier Malay vessels rolled forward under their double banks of oars. Late in the evening of the 29th, a meeting of the principal chiefs was held in the Rajah's prahu, to settle the course of proceedings. The great men assembled on the poop, while about a hundred of their relations and followers were crowded below. A solitary candle threw its dim light over the faces of the collected

Scenes in the fleet.

Assembly of the chiefs.

[1] These scenes are described exactly as they are represented in the journal of an eye-witness. The diction is my own, but every shade and colour is faithfully correct.

[2] Manuscript Narrative, 55.

orators; and their varied dresses and arms, the mixture of Europeans, Malays, and Dyaks, the anxious countenances of two Serebas chiefs who had joined the expedition, the dark masses of boats, rising and falling with the waves around, formed a spectacle extraordinary even to men not unused to strange scenes in the strangest regions of the earth. The point in question was— should the flotilla ascend the Rembas branch of the Serebas river, or proceed to the mouth of the Kaluka. The latter was determined on, and the Kaluka was reached next day. Before the search there was commenced, a column of smoke was perceived rising over the Lipat hill, and it was conjectured that a body of pirates known to dwell there, were preparing to join the Serebas in their great haunt, and burning their habitations before they went. This changed the plan of the adventure. A force was sent to the Sussang river, to prevent any boats descending, and Sir James Brooke started up the Lipat. The prahus were ranged in line of battle; they were flanked by the boats of the *Nemesis*, and altogether formed a powerful flotilla.

Discussion.

Ascent of the Kaluka river.

About twenty miles up, on turning a reach, a canoe was seen quietly paddling along, about a quarter of a mile ahead. The crew, imagining that a descent of Serebas pirates was about to lay waste their borders, started off in flight; and fearing that they would spread a false alarm, or warn the buccaneers of their enemy's approach, Mr. Crookshank in the *Snake* was sent forward to pursue them; and the Malays, delighting in an opportunity to show the speed of their favourite boat, shot after the chase, which glided like a shadow before them, and disappeared round a bend in the stream. But in another moment the *Snake* also had swept out of sight, and found the canoe deserted, lying close under the bushes. One of the Malays immediately recognised some article in the little skiff, and cried out, "this be-

Chase of a canoe.

Anecdote.

longs to my nephew." He jumped on shore, ran up to the jungle, and shouted "Come down!" No answer was returned. "Don't you know me?" he added. "Who are you?" replied a voice from the thicket. "Your uncle from Sarawak," said the Malay, and the poor fellows then came down, got into their canoe, and crossed over to Sir James Brooke's vessel, which had just anchored near the spot. They explained that the Dyak pirates had threatened utterly to destroy them, unless they left their village and joined the freebooting flotillas. It was with difficulty that the Rajah could prevent his Dyak allies from joining in the pursuit of this single canoe, for they were in great excitement, and several attempted to pass ahead; but a rifle-shot across their bows told them they were watched, and the ardour of their inclinations was restrained.

Evidences of piracy.

At Lintang, the English narrator saw evidences of the pirate ravages; for three quarters of a mile along the banks could be traced the remains of houses; some were not altogether demolished, but innumerable posts were to be seen among the bushes, or in the muddy flats along the river. The jungle was rapidly obliterating all marks of the large clearings formerly cultivated around, and in a few years more memory alone will recall a spot only prevented from flourishing in peace by the savage pirates of a neighbouring river. Throughout that excursion in other places wide clearings were to be seen, with deserted houses near them, hamlets abandoned by their people, groves of newly-planted palms, and others laden with fruit, which no hand remained to gather in.

Changed aspect of the country.

Town of Sussang.

The town of Sussang, near the mouth of the river, supplied the fleet with provisions, and its chiefs carried on friendly intercourse with their visitors. It was once a considerable place; but the trade had been so cut up, and agriculture so much impeded by the Serebas, that a scanty livelihood was all that could then be obtained. All the houses on the left bank were entirely abandoned, and sneaking parties of Serebas still came from time to time, to take the head of any stray woman or child that might be found unprotected in the forest.[1] These buccaneers lived about seventy-five miles up the Lipat river, where their huge village-houses were built near a spot in which the water was too shallow for prahus of large size. In this retreat they imagined themselves secluded from all search, and safe from all attack; but Sir James Brooke resolved to punish them, and some of the chiefs gladly acted as guides to their haunt.

Deserted by its inhabitants.

Pirate retreat.

A number of boats pulled up the river—signs of former cultivation multiplying on either hand; and after some hours, a distant cry was heard; loud shouts and yells passed rapidly through the fleet, and a sampan with four Serebas pirates, armed to the teeth, came in view. Seven men engaged with them, and as they fought to desperation, they were all killed, which produced immense excitement among the Dyaks of the flotilla.

Advance up the river.

Conflicts with pirates.

The boats had now reached slack water, and anchored abreast of Si-Patang, a deserted Dyak city. Not many years ago it was tenanted by an industrious population, whose extensive paddi fields extended for miles around, and the large groves of cocoa-nut, betel, and sago palms, showed that the river had teemed with wealth, and only needed security to become again the home of a tranquil and laborious people. For years, however, the inhabitants had been exposed to piratical attacks, and at length half their town was captured by the Se-

Ruins of a Dyak city.

History of its desolation.

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[1] See Abong Hassan's Depositions before Sir C. Rawlinson, No. 5.

rebas, who massacred all that fell into their hands. The dwellings of some chiefs, of stronger build than the others, and furnished with guns, were still defended, and the assailants retired, carrying away hundreds of human heads, and a vast quantity of plunder. Those whom they killed were, for the most part, old people and children, who, when dispersed in the fields, were surprised and unable to escape to places of safety. Long and patiently the inhabitants tried to bear up against these incursions, which were continually renewed; but at last, as at Lintang, they gave way to despair, left their homes, their farms, and their groves, and retired to Sarawak. Many of them now accompanied the fleet, and gave permission to their comrades to store all the boats with cocoa and betel nuts from the deserted plantations.

Council of war.

At Si-Patang, Sir James Brooke, Captain Keppel, Mr. Spenser St. John, and the other Englishmen, held a council of war with a number of native chiefs, to discuss the arrangements of a march to be undertaken on the morrow against the pirate villages. They made their way through the deserted houses, and found the meeting surrounded by a large crowd, which opened however, at their approach. The Datus, the Orang-kayas, the Sherrifs, the Panglimas, the Nakodahs,—all the men of influence were there—with eager faces lighted up by enthusiasm into an ardour of expression, very much in contrast with their usual placid composure. All agreed on the necessity of making an attack on the pirate strongholds. Panglima Osman, the elected leader of the native forces, spoke as follows:—

Speech of a chief.

"There has never, in the memory of any man here, been so large a force assembled as we now see around us, nor has there ever been so great a body of Malays collected together. We have here a chief, whom we all respect, and now, under him, if we do not do our duty, if we do not subdue these Serebas, who have so long and so constantly harassed us, we do not deserve to have wives and children. I myself will leave the country and go to live at Singapore, or in some other place far from this, where I may live in peace, and I will never again return to this coast."

Laws of Malay warfare.

There was an old law among the Malays that if, while engaged on a war expedition, one man abandoned another, he and his family were sold, and the produce given to support the widow and children of him whom he might have saved. This rude expedient, suggested by a barbarous chivalry, may have been influential for good in armies where discipline could not control, and where moral feeling was ineffectual to shame the pusillanimous into a show of valour. It was now, however, fallen into disuse, and Panglima Osman was forced to appeal to the spirit and patriotism of the warriors who listened to his harangue. The sentiment was loudly echoed, the flotilla started up the stream, and at midnight anchored about seventy miles from the sea.

March through the jungle.

As the march to the secluded pirate haunt would lie through a jungle, and as the native army might be forced to bivouac all night among the woods, it was agreed that the Europeans should remain to guard the boats. All preparations were made; the heart of every man was stirred by the prospect of retaliating upon the spoilers of his home the accumulated injuries of years, and on the 2d of April the movement took place.

Bivouac on the river.

Early in the morning the whole fleet was alive. The boats were anchored in a part of the stream about fifty yards wide, with banks which, at low water, appeared lofty. On the left was a thick overhanging jungle; on the right were scattered bushes and a few trees; the surface of the river was covered with prahus; the Dyaks were hurrying on shore; the Malays were putting on their war dresses, and getting ready their arms; confusion and excitement reigned over the whole; little canoes were shooting up and down, bringing men from the rear of the fleet to the landing-place, and a motley battalion was forming near the water. Their costumes were of every colour, from a dirty white to a brilliant red, and their arms of varied kind — blunderbusses, pistols, spears, swords, krisses, and shields. There was little discipline kept; body after body ascended the banks, plunged amid the jungle, and hurried to the place of rendezvous.

Curious scene.

Order of march.

There the balla or army was arranged in order of march. It numbered about 2000 men, and was disposed according to the usual native plan, — in quaint imitation of the figure of a bird. The Beak, or vanguard of picked warriors, was headed by Panglima Osman, an experienced leader, possessing the confidence of his European allies, as well as of the Dyaks themselves. The Wings to support the Beak, and fight the enemy's skirmishers, were of course on either side of the main body. This was composed principally of the heavy-armed Malays, the main instrument of the war. Following this was the rudder or Tail, generally made up of stragglers — the last to advance, and first to retreat; though when passing through a dangerous country, some chosen men are sent to join the rear. In this order the army marched. Presently messengers came to the boats with news that its advanced parties were arrived within sight of some of the pirate villages, and that the sound of gongs and tatawas could be distinctly heard in that direction. The buccaneers were engaged in a festival, dancing in triumph over the trophies of their recent foray — the heads of those aged people and children, whose sons and parents and brothers were

A native army.

Pirates surprised.

now coming through the jungle to visit them with a retributive blow.

In a few hours a heavy storm of rain came on, and the Englishmen in the boats were afraid lest the powder should be damped, and the ardour of the Dyaks allayed. Every now and then however, a messenger returned from the army with news — and they learned that many huts of branches and leaves had been constructed in the forest, to shelter the warriors and keep their ammunition dry. Occasionally, too, a party of faint-hearted recusants sneaked back to the boats, but the greater number manifestly preserved their resolution, and remained all night under the frail roof they had constructed for themselves.

News from the army.

Courage of the Dyaks.

Meanwhile, the party at the boats were busy clearing the banks of jungle, to prevent any pirates lying in ambush there; and when the evening closed in, it was upon a scene in which little was wanting to recall to an imaginative mind the witcheries of old romance. It was a dark night, writes one who shared in the excitement of that adventure, and a gust of wind drove masses of cloud over the sky, giving a cheerless aspect to the scene. The double and treble line of roofed boats, drawn up along the banks, had an appearance as of a large village skirting the water's edge; a bright blaze occasionally shot up from one of the prahus, rendering more palpable the density of the prevailing gloom. One little scene there was, which might have been most effectively rendered on canvass. A long, low Dyak boat, roofed over from stem to stern, but open at the sides, lay close underneath the shadowy bank, and was dimly perceptible through the shadows. Its inmates lay sleeping on the deck; but presently a man rose, stooped over the fire, and commenced blowing up its embers with his mouth. He was soon joined by

Picturesque night scene.

several others, and when at last a flame shot up with cheering brilliance, you might imperfectly discern a Dyak attending to an iron pot swung over the little blazing pile. This contained a store of rice for the succeeding day; and while one took care of its preparation, another kept up the flame, while two or three crouched close by, warming their hands, and gravely watching the process. The fire, the dark figures, the patches of water glimmering among the boats, the sombre trees, the obscure and confused objects dimly visible around — all this formed a picture which the happiest genius of the Flemish painter might have been exerted to preserve.[1]

Rumours from the pirate haunt.

Next day rumours came thick and fast from the scene of the campaign. A spy boat was sent some miles up the stream, and returned with the intelligence that loud shouts, the beating of alarm gongs, and repeated firing had been heard in the direction of the pirate villages. Some men also returned with a chief who had been wounded in the foot with a ranjow or spike of bamboo, planted by the enemy to impede the march of their assailants. Their accounts were contradictory and confused, some declaring that the fighting had been great, others that the pirates had run away.

Concert of gongs.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 4th it was expected that the army was marching back towards the river. All the gongs in the fleet therefore were beaten to direct its course, and this deafening noise was kept up for five hours, when a discharge of musketry was heard at a distance, and some parties came straggling in, at first in twos and threes, then in larger bodies, and at length in one continuous line, pouring from the jungle into their floating tenements on the river. Some were flushed and active, others wearied, and covered

Return of the army.

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[1] Manuscript Narrative, 145.

from head to foot with mud; most brought some booty, and a few were so laden that they could scarcely stagger under the weight of spoil. About half-past two in the afternoon all had arrived, and the flotilla commenced its passage down the stream.

Their achievements.

The native army, after leaving its encampment of huts, pressed forward with incautious zeal, was discovered by the Serebas, and disappointed by their flight. A little skirmishing occurred; but few of the pirates were seen, and it was afterwards ascertained that most of them were away, preparing for a new plundering expedition on the Rembas river. Their villages were easily captured, and few lives were lost in the operation, while in the houses were found furniture, clothes, arms, and a newly stored harvest. There were eight immense dwellings. All the portable property was collected into one, and the others were burned. Innumerable heads were discovered, many but lately smoked, and without doubt the relics of that catastrophe, which the expedition was undertaken to revenge. When the destruction was complete, the victorious islanders erected a palisade round their lodging, set watches, cooked their evening meal, and endeavoured to obtain some sleep.

Capture of pirate villages.

Discovery of heads.

During the night, however, the piratical Dyaks of the surrounding villages collected, and approaching the palisades hurled their spears, shouted and yelled, and long continued to drive away even the idea of repose. Suddenly, there was a lull, and a voice was heard asking questions. The speaker was at first far off, but gradually approached nearer, and his interrogatories could be distinctly heard. "What Balla is that?" "From Sarawak." "Why have you attacked us?" To this dozens of men answered to the intent that they had come to punish them for their late attack on Sadong, and

Conference with concealed pirates.

they enumerated the atrocities which had been committed. By an occasional gleam of moonlight struggling through the clouds, they could perceive that the speaker wore the dress of a chief. He told them, "We are not now strong enough to fight you; but if you were not so many we would." When next morning the army returned, a new route was chosen, since it was expected that the old one would be planted thickly with ranjows, and this was probably the fact, for the Serebas shouted from the jungle, "Why do you choose a new path? Why not return by the old one?" signifying clearly that they had prepared some means of revenge.

Deliverance of captives.

A woman and two children were captured and brought before Sir James Brooke. They displayed complete acquiescence, if not pleasure, in their captivity, and it soon appeared that the woman was the slave of a Serebas chief, who had carried her away from the Balow tribe, and by him she had become twice a mother. She answered that she had found her own relations in the army which attacked the pirate village, and preferred to remain with them.[1]

Descent of the stream.

All the prahus got under weigh at the same time, a hundred of them dashing on down a narrow river with streamers flying, and guns firing, in unison shouts and yells and songs of exultation over the defeat of those who had made a descent along the borders of the Lipat. A long sweep of uncultivated fields with groves of palms, ruined hamlets, and deserted houses, opened to the Dyaks a prospect of their former homes, and no doubt many a wistful glance was cast on the remembered scenes of comfort and plenty, which had been made desolate by those buccaneers.

The attacks on the pirates were discontinued for three months, while Sir James Brooke was absent at Labuan and Sulu, and the Serebas, imagining that the campaign against them was over, soon renewed their outrages. Small squadrons came out of the rivers to pillage along the coast, and every day numbers of people fled from their pursuit into Sarawak. The terror of the population became as great as before, and the multiplication of atrocities called for another and a more severe example to be made. The British government at the Straits was then determined to assert the national flag against the savage enemies of all trade, and on the 24th of July the *Albatross*, the *Royalist*, and the *Nemesis* having come to Sarawak, a new expedition was prepared. It was arranged that the *Albatross* should remain behind while her boats proceeded with the steamer; the *Royalist* to anchor up the Batang Lupar, to protect the Linga river from the Sakarrans, and her cutter, under Lieutenant Everest, to join the European flotilla destined for the attack on the Serebas and Kanowit buccaneers. On the 24th of July the whole fleet fell down the river and anchored at its entrance.

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[1] See Deposition, 13—16.

Interval of peace.

New expedition prepared.

On the 25th the *Nemesis* took the European division in tow, to leave the *Royalist* off the Linga, and to rendezvous at the Kaluka. The Rajah followed with the native flotilla, and on the 27th they all met off Kaluka. While wooding at Serebas, a message was received from a respectable man at Sussang, saying, that the day before, while fishing on the sands, he saw a fleet coming out of the Serebas river, and counted ninety-four war bangkongs, which passed him, and proceeded towards the Rejang. Four others soon followed, and Sir James Brooke resolved to intercept this floating horde of robbers.

Passage of the squadron.

Intelligence of a Dyak fleet.

There were four rivers by which the Serebas could regain their haunts; they might dash up the Rejang,

Their means of escape.

and disperse among the tribes of Kanowit and Katibas; they might push through the Lipat branch of the Kaluka; they might return up the Serebas, or passing out to sea, ascend the Batang Lupar, and move up the Sakarran branch of that magnificent river. Should they attempt this at the first, the *Nemesis* would cut them off; Sir James Brooke with the heavy native prahus, supported by Lieutenants Everest and Wilmshurst, was to move up the Kaluka to the junction and anchor there, while the *Nemesis*, the little ***Ranee*** steam tender, five European boats, and a strong native squadron, were to guard the Serebas.

Arrangement.

Period of expectation.

Three days were spent awaiting the return of the pirate fleet. Heavy rains fell all the while, and Sir James Brooke, watching without remission from the deck, suffered severely then and since from the exposure. It was expected that the corsairs, when they arrived and found the Serebas closed, would dash for the Kaluka, and after proceeding a few miles up, would be stopped by a flotilla moored across that stream, with all its guns pointed towards the sea, when the steamer was to follow, and thus enclose them between two fires. News, however, arrived that more than eighty pirate vessels had been seen off the Rejang, where the people were in momentary expectation of an attack, and none ventured out to visit the fishing stakes. On the morning of the thirty-first, intelligence arrived that the great fleet, having plundered the village of Palo, was anchored in the Si-Maring creek near Siriki, and it was feared they would assault that town. The *Nemesis*, therefore, was prepared to steam thither and prevent such a disaster; "but that very evening," says my narrator, "a party of us were out searching for a pig or deer along the sands, and tempted by the numerous traces of game, we inadvertently strayed for about three miles. When we

The fleet reported.

turned, we had not retraced our steps above a third of the way when the spy-boat was seen rapidly pulling along the shore." Suddenly, all in her rose up, pointed towards the distant headland, waved to us to return, and cried out, "The Dyaks are coming!" Nothing, however, could be discerned in the direction of the Serebas river but the steamer's outline, indistinctly revealed through the thickening shadows of the evening. She lay near the dark banks, completely out of view to those at sea.

Animating scene.

After much hurry and confusion, the flotilla weighed and formed a line across the entrance of the Kaluka river. A rocket was fired to give the steamer notice; another followed it, and a loud shout broke from the excited barbarians throughout the fleet. A dead silence ensued for a moment, when again, from thousands of voices, there burst a long, deep yell of defiance, now sounding high, now low, as it it was borne towards the shore by the wind; the flashes of guns gleamed through the purple dusk, and it was known that the enemy was making for the Serebas.

Commencement of the fight.

The discharge of two guns and a rocket, and a blue light from the *Nemesis*, told that she was prepared; and the deep booming of her thirty-two pounders announced the commencement of the action. In a short time, after anxiously waiting, Sir James Brooke and his companions perceived, approaching the entrance of the Kaluka, a long dark line of bangkongs. Everest and Wilmshurst in the cutters dashed forward to meet them, followed by a division of the light boats under Panglima Osman and Incas. A more extraordinary scene could not be imagined; the moon, slightly dimmed by misty clouds, threw a watery radiance over the banks of the river, on the open sea in front, and the waves glimmering all around. The brilliant blue lights of the

Extraordinary picture.

Nemesis, the flashes of musketry, the pursuing boats, the extended fleet of the enemy—all this, with the regular booming of the guns, and the loud and frantic shouts rising on all sides, formed a scene of the most singular character. The main body of the enemy pulled in shore to shallow water, and for a short time appeared to hesitate as to their next movement. The steamer was manœuvring on one side, Captain Farquhar's boats were out seaward, and a large force of natives was assembled off the sandy point near the right bank of the river. At length the pirates made a rush towards the Sarawak squadron, but were received with a heavy and destructive fire; they were so surrounded that every one, as a prisoner afterwards said, lost his senses. All concert was lost, and each in this division only thought of escape.

Movement of the enemy.

Their rout.

For five hours the conflict was prolonged, with heavy firing, and about twelve it ceased, though an occasional report still broke on the silence. About two, the little *Ranee* steamed up to the Sarawak flotilla, but no one knew precisely what had been going on.

When the pirate fleet approached the Serebas they were met by the *Nemesis*, whose thirty-two pounders, loaded with round shot, grape, and canister, made fearful havoc among them; to escape this storm of metal they turned seaward, but Captain Farquhar, an officer of the most consummate ability, turned them back; then they tried the sandy point, where the Sarawak squadron gave them its fire, so that, thrown into a confused crowd, no one thought of order; some ran their boats on shore, some abandoned them, and many were shattered and sunk by the cannonade.

Attempts to escape Captain Farquhar.

The effect of the steamer's fire was terrific. She first met a line of seventeen large bangkongs, and dashing through them, had five on one side and twelve on the

Effect of the fire.

other. Into these, within fifty yards, she poured her hot and rapid volleys, and kept working up and down until they were all crippled or destroyed. One prahu endeavoured to escape — the steamer was speedily alongside — sixty men rose up armed at all points, hurled their spears and yelled defiance; but a thirty-two pound shot struck her in the middle, and she parted in two. One of the prisoners afterwards taken was asked "Why did you not fight more bravely?" "Fight!" he answered, "how could we fight? The very first shot cut my boat in two, and we were obliged to swim to the shore." Some of the Serebas, also, exclaimed that it was impossible to contend with men who turned the night into day, who had lights above in the heavens and lights below, so that everything could be perceived —referring to the port-fires, rockets, and blue lights; and certainly the brilliancy of these lit up the sea for hundreds of yards, and enabled the *Nemesis* to play her guns with more terrible precision and effect.

Incidents of the conflict.

Thoughts of the natives on English warfare.

The swift native boats, under the command of Mr. Steel and the Orang Kaya of Lundu, prevented most of those who passed the other divisions from ascending the river. The enemy were seen swimming in hundreds in the sea, most of them with their shields, and a sword in their mouths, with which they attacked the small prahus, and wounded many of those on board. Every moment had added to the general wreck. When a rocket struck a boat on the stem, it swept it to the stern. The Serebas gave many instances of valour. One of their bangkongs was closely pressed by Kallong, the eldest son of the Orang Kaya of Lundu; the boat was run ashore, and a young chief, springing on the beach, dared any man "to land and fight him." His challenge was answered by Kallong, who, jumping into the river, waded towards his adversary, and killed him

General confusion.

Courage of the pirates. Anecdote.

in single combat. Had this chivalrous savage been overcome, his youngest brother was in the water, ready to support the reputation of his tribe.

Escape of pirates.

Twelve or fourteen of the pirate bangkongs escaped. Three of these were afterwards captured by the Balow Dyaks, as they were endeavouring to make their way to the Batang Lupar; the others passed up the Serebas, and spread the greatest consternation through the country; they sought to mitigate the humiliation of their defeat by saying that, though thoroughly beaten, they had fought for six hours, and that, although they had taken no heads, hundreds of their enemies' bodies would be thrown upon the beach. Fortunately, however, there were few men lost from the forces of Sir James Brooke and his native allies, though many were wounded.

Reports of the battle.

Panic on shore.

The panic along the banks of the Serebas was extreme; no sooner had intelligence arrived of the disaster which had overwhelmed the pirate fleet, than all who had remained at home, with the women and children, commenced hiding their property and hurrying away with their portable valuables. An immediate attack was expected; and during this confusion nine women, captured in one of their Sadong forays, some of high rank, had the courage to slip away, and passing by unfrequented paths through the jungle, reached the stream. There, seizing a small canoe, they cautiously paddled down, concealing themselves by day under the overhanging foliage, and moving only by night. Happily, their flight was successful, and they arrived at Linga safe, but in a very exhausted condition. They had been reduced to slavery; all had been violated, and several of them were pregnant by the pirates.

Anecdote.

Before morning, Captain Farquhar in the *Nemesis*, with the European boats, went on the Rembas in order to close it against any of the escaped bangkongs; and at daylight of August the first, Sir James Brooke, with his flotilla, followed. As they left the Kaluka, some pirate vessels were discerned, still hovering out at sea; Panglima Osman, with a squadron of light prahus, went in pursuit, and they proved to be seven deserted bangkongs drifting over the waves. Far around, indeed, the relics of that sanguinary night covered the water, —shattered timbers, half-sunk boats, kejangs, basket-mats, spears, clothes, and every species of prahu furniture. In one spot on the shore, a mass of vessels, the *débris* of the fleet, was piled high and dry, and near them crowds of people were searching in the shallows along the beach for arms and other articles, which the pirates, in their panic, had thrown overboard.

Scene after the conflict.

Débris of the fleet.

The native allies, also, loaded themselves with spoil; some with heavy parangs and axes, hewed the large boats to pieces, preparatory to burning them; others repaired and launched the smaller ones; on all sides were heard vauntings and exultations over the destruction of the Serebas; and parties struck in various directions through the woods to see if any of their enemies still lingered in ambush there. Some of the Dyaks led Mr. Brereton and several other Europeans to a spot where lay the decapitated trunk of a fine young woman, hacked and hewed in the most barbarous manner. Other relics of pirate atrocity, equally revolting, were scattered about. They are supposed to have been the remains of a girl captured off Mato, and of others carried away from Palo. There were few natives present who had not lost a father, a brother, or a son, a wife or a daughter murdered by the Serebas pirates, or borne into a miserable captivity. Among the thirty-five men, for example, composing the

Spoil of the pirate vessels.

Atrocity of the Serebas.

Motives to revenge.

crew of the *Snake*, there was not one who had not some close relation thus destroyed.

However, a fearful retribution had now fallen on them; their loss in boats was very great. Between sixty and eighty lay upon the sands, or were captured. As it would have been impossible to have used the whole, orders were given that those who required boats should remove them immediately—all the others were destroyed.

Dyak vessels.

The bangkongs of this fleet are boats peculiar to the Dyaks; they are built of strong thick planks, hewed into shape with small axes and admirably fitted—one overlapping the other, with the interstices tightly caulked with a species of bark. The fastenings are of rattan, and the vessel is thus easily taken to pieces and reconstructed.[1] The stem and stern are generally out of water, some overhanging at least ten feet. They are as swift as any boats ever launched, and few of Malay or European build have a chance in a race with them.

Bangkongs.

Bangkongs are never used, except for warfare, and are unmistakeable to the eye of any one acquainted with the craft of the Indian seas. To speak of them as boats is perhaps to convey a false impression of their size. The larger ones measure about seventy feet in length, and about nine in the beam, built of magnificent planks more than sixty feet long. They carry a crew of about seventy men,—the complement being estimated by the number of holes bored along the sides for the paddles to work in. The usual armament of a first-class bangkong is a small gun forward and another aft, with occasionally one or two right and left; the men carry wooden spears, sharp and heavy, for throwing; iron-headed pikes, for close fighting; swords and shields, and as many muskets as they can possibly obtain. There were about 1200 muskets in the fleet destroyed on the 31st of July. The mast, which is raised in the fore part, may be easily lowered to increase the convenience for action. The Serebas paint their vessels after a peculiar but plain fashion, while the stems of the other Dyak bangkongs are often ornamented with some strange device — always fantastic, frequently indecent.

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[1] See the account of Indian boats with wooden fastenings. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 26.

Armaments.

On this occasion the Serebas Malays, expecting no opposition at the towns they intended to attack, and knowing that swiftness was the principal requisite in a marauding enterprise, had gone in the bangkongs belonging to the piratical Dyaks of that river. The numerical force of the fleet was variously estimated by the prisoners, at from 120 to 150 war vessels; but the former is considered to have been the closest approximation to truth. The pirates themselves were also calculated at 5,280, 4,200, 3,600; the first is far too high, the second was probably nearly correct; but accepting the third, it is enough to convince the most ignorant that they were not engaged in any innocent or peaceful adventure. The number killed is reckoned by themselves at 800; but 500 was the number proved before the Admiralty Court—and this apparently decimated the Serebas tribes. That no Englishman lost his life may seem at first surprising; but it is to be remembered that the principal work was done by the *Nemesis*, whose fire was so rapid and so overwhelming, that the pirates were unable to reload their pieces. When the *Fury* attacked a force of Chinese pirates armed with 1200 guns, although they fired for a long while, not one of the steamer's company was killed.

Tactics of the pirates.

Evidence of their piratical character.

About three thousand pirates still remained on a spot of land with a narrow neck, between the Serebas and Kaluka. It was proposed by the natives to erect a

Remnant of the freebooting expedition.

breastwork of felled trees across the neck, guard it well, and send bodies of armed men to drive the buccaneers from post to post, until they were all destroyed; but Sir James considered that no further chastisement was necessary to intimidate them from their wicked pursuits, and the Dyaks were ordered to reassemble on board the flotilla.

Testimony of prisoners.

From prisoners taken and captives released, it appeared that the piratical fleet had left Serebas on the 26th of July, and continued its course, first to the Niabur, an uninhabited river; the next day it advanced to Palo, a small town on the Bruit, where the people called out, inquiring who they were. The Serebas answered, "We have not come to kill you; but are you for us?" They being weak and defenceless of course answered, "Yes." "Then do not try to prevent our landing." The pirates then went on shore, plundered the inhabitants of their salt, with large stores of paddi and rice; selected the young women who pleased their fancy, and left, with this caution to all who remained,—"If ever you refuse to sell us salt, or to do as we bid you, we will come back and kill every one of you." "We intended," said one of the Serebas prisoners, with perfect coolness, "whenever we were short of heads, to go to Palo and kill them all." They appear to have considered it politic not to massacre them on this occasion, as they procured salt and other necessaries by means of their industry. As soon as their enemies were out of sight, the poor plundered victims launched their boats, took their most valued goods on board, and fled to the Rejang town, on the river of that name.

Account of the piratical expedition.

Movements of the fleet.

The fleet then continued its course to the Bay of Lassa, and on its way captured a prahu laden with sago. The pirates then made a descent on Mato, another town on the Bruit; they landed half their men, who attacked the houses in the rear, while the remainder from the boats kept up a constant fire. The inhabitants, however, being numerous and tolerably well armed, beat them off and compelled them to retire with the loss of at least ten men. They were compensated, however, by the acquisition of three heads, with four women and children as slaves. Their most valued prizes, nevertheless, were two trading prahus, captured below the defences at Mato; one, with a cargo of sago, was about to sail for Singapore; the other, a large vessel, sixty feet long and seventeen feet in the beam, had just returned from that emporium with a valuable freight of piece goods: her nakodah, or captain, the moment he saw the pirates emerging from a neighbouring creek, ran his prahu on shore, and having a numerous crew, saved a portion of his cargo. The value of the whole, consisting principally of English manufactures, was about five thousand dollars.[1]

Plunder of a trader.

Near Mato the Serebas murdered a number of fishermen and captured several females. They then started for Siriki, where a party of traitors was engaged to deliver the town into their hands, and a force of Sakarrans had agreed to join in the attack; but as all native plans requiring concert fail, the scheme was exploded, and the fleet returned towards its haunts in the Serebas river. On their way they had trusted to plunder for supplies of food; but to provide against the failure of this resource, they carried on their expedition cakes of oleaginous clay, which they affirm are very efficacious in appeasing the pangs of hunger. Long expecting, however, as they had, an attack from the English, the

Murder of fishermen.

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[1] Seraib's Deposition, No. 17. Suip's, No. 1. Burut's, No. 2.

Serebas and Sakarrans confined their depredations to the neighbourhood of their haunts. In the month of Ramadhan they imagined no Malay would dream of a warlike adventure, which emboldened them to make a long excursion.

Proceedings of Sir James Brooke.

After the destruction of this force, Sir James Brooke, with his companions, proceeded in the steamer up the stream, anchoring at the mouth of the Pahu, about fifty miles from the sea. There, on the 3rd of August, they embarked in small vessels—prizes from the pirate fleet—while the *Ranee*, with some European boats in advance, and a dense mass of native craft crowded the river in the rear; a conflict took place at Paku, and the enemy resisted with much spirit; but they were everywhere dispersed. The Dyaks suffered in the successive attacks, though little in proportion to their enemies, for the English fire was perpetually ready to cover them. The pirates, too, fought almost in all cases to the death, refusing to surrender, and often disdaining to fly. Captain Wallage of the *Nemesis*, who, as a noble-minded British officer, must reflect with sorrow as well as scorn on the malignity of those who charged him with slaughtering for the sake of gain, humanely offered a reward for every Serebas captured. This effort, however, to spare the effusion of blood availed little; the pirates were so fierce that no more than one prisoner was taken, and that at imminent risk. He fought in the water, and it was only by entangling him with spears and paddles, and slightly wounding his sword-arm, that the Dyaks could succeed in seizing him, and even then he injured one of his captors.

Ferocity of the Dyak pirates. Captain Wallage.

His humanity.

Result of the chastisement inflicted.

Information was received that one awakening impulse stirred all the peaceful towns along that river, inciting their people to join the English in striking a signal blow against the pirates, who preyed without remission on them. Little further was done, however, of a military character, for the piratical tribes had been subdued, and now made submission with every appearance of sincerity. They confessed their head-hunting and predatory practices, promised never to renew them, and engaged to enter into honest industry and trade. To secure them in the fulfilment of their vow, forts were built at the entrance of the various rivers which gave access to their haunts, and these have served effectually the purpose for which they were designed. That on the Sakarran was built of timber, twelve feet in height, with flanking towers, a surrounding ditch, two eighteen-pounders commanding the entrance of the stream, and others defending the sides of the structure itself. Galleries for musketry were erected above, with storehouses and magazines. More than a hundred men were posted here, with two experienced chiefs. The position of the fort was well chosen, on a tongue of land opposite the mouth of the Sakarran, and forming a perfect key to that river. While the building went on, many of the Sakarrans came out to the fleet, bringing their children in small sampans, and professing every good intention for the future. While a crowd of these converted buccaneers was swimming near, one of the eighteen-pounders, loaded with grape and canister, was fired to try its range. The shot scattered from one side of the branch river to the other, clearly showing the rovers what might be expected should a marauding flotilla attempt to put to sea through this opening.

Fortresses built.

Treaty with the Serebas.

What was of still greater importance than this coercive device, intended for the repression of piracy, was a sealed engagement accepted by the Serebas chiefs to abandon it altogether.

"This is an engagement made by Orang Kaya Pamancha, together with the headmen and elders, Dyaks, now inhabiting the country of Padi, with the Rajah, Sir James Brooke, who rules the country of Sarawak and its dependencies. Now the Orang Kaya Pamancha, the headmen and elders, Dyaks, swear before God, and God is the witness of the Orang Kaya Pamancha, the headmen and elders, Dyaks, that truly, without falsehood or treachery, or any evil courses, but in all sincerity, and with clean hearts, without spot, with regard to the former evil acts, we will never do them in future.

" Article 1. The Orang Kaya Pamancha, the headmen and elders, Dyaks of Padi, engage in truth, that they will never plunder or pirate again hereafter; and that they will never again send out men to plunder and pirate from Padih river.

" Article 2. The Orang Kaya Pamancha, the headmen and elders, Dyaks, engage, that if there be any committal of, or consultations to commit, plunder or piracy, or other evil doings of the kind, it is our duty to come and report it at Sarawak.

" Article 3. The Orang Kaya Pamancha, the headmen and elders, Dyaks, engage, that if people of Serebas or of Sakarran, commit acts of plunder and piracy, which they cannot prevent, we are bound to come to the English, or to the people of Sarawak, to punish the people who so act.

" Article 4. With regard to traders in the Padi river. The trade with them shall be fair and honest, and traders shall be taken care of, and shall not be plundered or molested, or treated improperly. If such people do not choose to trade they shall not be troubled, and if there be debts due to them, they shall be examined into and settled with judgment.

" Article 5. If the Rajah sends people to Padi they will be received, and shall not be troubled or prevented; and if the Rajah sends people to investigate, and see what is doing in Padi, they shall be received and taken care of.

"Article 6. They shall state with sincerity, that they desire peace and friendship and goodwill with all men, and they engage with sincerity that they will never again go out to plunder and pirate as formerly."

Discussions in England.

In this manner, and with this result, was accomplished the enterprise undertaken by Sir James Brooke in 1849, against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates — proved beyond doubt to be among the most ferocious and destructive marauders in the Archipelago. It was made in England the subject of much debate; it elicited misstatements from many, and excited the rancour of some who shrunk from no calumny to detract from the reputation of Rajah Brooke.[1] But slander is the last thing to find an echo in the public voice of Great Britain. Although some great journals, of stainless principle, suffered themselves to be drawn into the assault upon Sir James Brooke, an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in parliament, in the press, and generally in the country, applauded his actions and confirmed the decision of the Admiralty Court at Singapore. And indeed, strange would it have been, had any other judgment been pronounced. To accredit the charges boldly made, and maliciously reiterated, it was necessary to believe what Englishmen will not easily be persuaded to imagine possible, — it was necessary to believe that Sir James Brooke is a despicable and mercenary impostor,

Settlement of the dispute.

Enormity of the charges against Sir James Brooke.

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[1] See the unequivocal testimony of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, conducted by J. R. Logan, Esq., — a gentleman from his character beyond the suspicion of any but the most honourable motives, and by his acquaintance with Borneo qualified as well as any one to offer an opinion. vol. iii. p. 512.

careless of human life, and ready to sacrifice the most sacred principles and feelings, in order to promote a personal ambition; that Captain Farquhar, Captain Wallage, Lieutenant Everest, Lieutenant Wilmshurst, Mr. Spenser St. John, and a number of other English officers and gentlemen were the cold-blooded participators, some of them for gain, others from mere ferocity, in a terrible murder; that Sir Christopher Rawlinson, a man with all the fine qualities of virtue and judgment, which are required to make up the character of a judge, had his mind deluded by a fiction, or his hand corrupted by a bribe — it was necessary in a word to believe so much that was utterly incredible, it was necessary to attach probability to so much that was morally impossible, that in Great Britain a general acclamation of applause broke out to silence the malignant aspersions, circulated to defame and disgrace the English Rajah. It said to him in every form of expression, *Invidiam gloria superasti.*

Sir Christopher Rawlinson. Public opinion on Sir James Brooke's policy.

Debate in parliament.

In Parliament, the motion for censure, covered under a demand for inquiry, was rejected by a majority of hundreds against a score, and when Mr. Henry Drummond, Mr. Headlam, and Lord Palmerston, and other distinguished statesmen, spoke in vindication of Sir James Brooke, loud and universal cheers rang to the echo through the House, applauding at once the speaker and the speaker's theme.[1]

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[1] The dinner given to Sir James Brooke by members of Parliament, merchants, bankers, and others — the wealthiest and most influential men in the city of London, on March 26th, 1852, was a splendid ovation—an honour to those who bestowed, and a triumph to him who received it.

CHAPTER XVII.

Actual state of the Archipelago.

AFTER its subjection to so many influences, — of foreign colonisation, of conquest, of new religions, of intercourse by trade and war with the nations of China, India, Arabia, and Europe, the Eastern Archipelago remains in a singular condition. Its population, confused and mingled as it is, represents every phase of human society — from the primitive barbarism of the Kayan and the Jakun, to the luxury and opulence of London, Madrid, and Amsterdam, transported to Singapore, Pinang, Batavia, Makassar, and Manilla. Government houses, churches, theatres, barracks, prisons, schools, shops, and stores, are crowded at different points on several coasts — Singapore, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Borneo, and Luzon — with Madura, Amboyna, and Timor. In these we find that mixture of Asiatic with European manners, invariably discovered in communities of similar origin throughout the Eastern world.

Its varied social phases.

European settlements.

Hospitality of Europeans.

There is one remarkable characteristic in them all — a thirst for accumulating riches, and a generosity in the expenditure of them, which combine to make a race of hospitable settlers, each extending the liberal reputation of his country to those remote borders of the habitable earth. Of the burgher in Batavia, as of the merchant in the Straits, this is equally true, for travellers of every class and every nation concur in acknowledging and applauding it. Recently also, a sumptuous entertainment, with a ball, was given by a Chinese gentleman at Singapore, and for the taste and elegance displayed Paris or London could not have excelled it.

The society of the place is indeed, highly refined, and includes many persons of much attainment and distinction. Theirs is, however, though a magnificent, not an improvident profusion. They prosper on their free distribution of the opulence which they derive from their commerce in the East. If Batavia be no longer, as once, "The Queen of the Oriental Seas," she is still the rich capital of the Netherlands' Indian Empire; her streets are full of traffic; her spacious and commodious roads are frequented by numerous shipping, and a large trade passes through to her factories. Makassar, under her new distinction as a free port, flourishes well, and Manilla is remarked by late travellers to present one of the finest scenes in Asia[1], with the most densely peopled and best cultivated land in the Philippines, in its vicinity.[2] Singapore and Pinang attract to themselves a considerable share of the wealth produced by commercial and industrial enterprises in the Archipelago.

Batavia.

Makassar.

Manilla.

Singapore.

Pinang.

Decay of ancient cities.

Meanwhile, the ancient cities of the Indian kingdoms fall into decay, and are rapidly perishing out of view. Johore, on the Peninsula, is a miserable ruin—reduced from a capital to a little fishing village.[3] Japara, in Java, was twenty years ago a pile of decay.[4] Bruné, in Borneo, is crumbling daily into insignificance. The old cities of some of the Moluccan states have entirely disappeared, and of Mojopahit nothing remains. Yet the former aspects of the Archipelago continue still to impress themselves on the mind of the traveller,—the motley and animated swarm of traffickers in the Sunda

Ruins of states.

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[1] See Cunynghame, *Recollections*, 142.

[2] See Macmicking, *Philippines.*

[3] Bedford, *Considerations on Quedah*, MS. Unpublished.

[4] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 44.

Straits and other avenues to the interior seas[1], the primitive villages on the coasts, lifted on pillars, thatched with leaves, and half obscured by the foliage piled heavily about them. Among the islands Chinese junks, the heavy boats from Cambodia and Siam, the vessels of all forms and sizes of the various populations, mingle with the great ships of Europe, passing from coast to coast — those which are defenceless preyed upon by pirates, still haunting many of the groups and rivers in the Archipelago. The celebrated market in the Arru continues to be crowded every year, the productions of those islands rendering them conspicuous in that quarter of Asia.

Present aspect of the Archipelago.

Commerce.

The Arru Isles.

In the general aspect of the Archipelago, indeed, there is little change discernible since the first enterprise of European navigation in its waters. Sociably, its populations remain nearly as they were, when Sequeira, Lancaster, and Houtman, came one by one from Europe to survey the riches and curiosities of the islands. There still exist vast deserts of forest, jungle, and morass, uncultivated and unreclaimed; savage tribes, dwelling on the banks of rivers; wild communities sequestered in the remoteness of hills and woods; scarcely any proportion of the island race is civilised. The Malays, along the different coasts, have been educated to many of the useful, as well as to some of the finer arts of life, but have yielded in few cases to that softening influence which sets a mark on the civilised man in contrast with the barbarian. Europeans have settled in the Archipelago, indeed, but their communities form only minute specks, widely scattered, and ruling little the manners of the native population. Borneo remains nearly unexplored; all but the north-west coast, with a few

Little changes.

Unpeopled solitudes.

The Malays.

Borneo.

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[1] Berncastle, *Voyage*, ii. 3.

Dutch settlements, is a gorgeous desert, offering abundant contributions to commerce, as well as resources for a large agricultural people, but neglected almost altogether by the enterprise of Europe, and little appreciated by its own possessors.

Sarawak.

In Sarawak, however, a gratifying spectacle is exhibited,—a salutary picture full of hope for the uncultured race still ranging in savage liberty through the woods and morasses which extend over so large a part of the island. There, Sir James Brooke has performed an achievement which scarcely a man in any other part of the world has ever equalled, or even attempted to imitate. It is an unrivalled triumph. A wretched, impoverished, disorganised collection of tribes, bloodthirsty and uncouth, inhabiting a wild, uncultivated, unprotected province, has been moulded into a peaceful, happy, flourishing society, with manners, morals, laws, a pride in industry, and an attachment to trade. There is little or no crime, litigation is unfrequent, and the Dyaks have perfect confidence in their ruler. Among other benefits he has conferred on them is a hospital, superintended by the kindness and skill of the Reverend Mr. Macdougall, whose apostolic piety and zeal will not soon be forgotten in Sarawak.[1]

Achievements of Sir James Brooke.

Happy state of the province.

Former condition of the people.

When Sir James Brooke assumed the administration of this province, he found materials, the least encouraging to a superficial view—rapine, piracy, oppression operating from the powerful to the inferior classes; the bonds of society dissolved among the inferior classes themselves; all ancient laws defied, yet not forgotten, so that there was no clear ground for the introduction of new ones. A sudden and systematic abrogation of every social rule would have left an easier task than this decay of institutions which the prejudice of the people would not permit him to destroy. There were certain laws, certain customs, certain traditionary forms of procedure deeply established, and by no means to be removed; but there was also a high-minded, liberal population, willing to be educated to the nobler practices of life. The Dyaks went to Sir James Brooke, and while he, in one sense, was their protector, they in another were his. They carried arms. He told them they had rights, and the defence of those rights was to be accomplished by arms. The rudiments of equity were then established, when there followed an appeal to constituted tribunals for the settlement of causes or the punishment of crime. The forms of justice in Sarawak are perhaps more simple than in any other part in the world. Sir James and his companions meet. Every person of respectability, whether English or native, sits down at a circular table; the prisoner is seated on a mat; the trial commences in the Malay language; every one is allowed to speak in his turn; evidence on both sides is patiently heard, and the decision is given and recorded on the spot. The Dyaks take the most earnest interest in all proceedings of this kind; their minds, we are assured by Sir James Brooke, are equal to the comprehension of them, and though uncultivated, are not inferior in capacity to those of Europeans.

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[1] Keppel, *Visit*, ii. 8.

The Dyak population.

Form of administration.

Trial of criminals.

It is not to be imagined that the Rajah Brooke is an absolute autocrat in his Bornean dominions. He is rather the president of a republican state—the executive of a self-governing people, but at the same time the director and master-spirit of the whole. When he desires to alter an institution, they sometimes object, pleading their attachment to an ancient custom, and the question is debated. If he wishes to modify a law as too cruel, or too lenient, or inefficacious, he calls the

Power of Rajah Brooke.

His mode of procedure.

people together in an open court, and explains to them his reasons. He then desires the chiefs to assemble the tribes in their different towns throughout the province, to consult upon points of legislation, and transmit their determination to him. The inquiry, in effect, is made, "Is it your wish that such shall be the law, by which you yourselves are to be governed?" and their choice is his decision.

Native parliament.

Character of the people.

The people of Sarawak are highly independent in their character, and very generous. One circumstance renders them comparatively easy to govern — their general reverence for the truth. With the exception of a vicious and servile class attached to the old court, they are also honourable in other ways; unwilling to endure oppression; quick in the resentment of an injury, and incapable of submitting to an insult. Well acquainted with this trait in their character, Sir James is careful to respect the feeling. When a man is accused of crime, though his character may be bad, and he be of low class, he is not, even if charged with murder, seized or subjected to any contumely. An anecdote, with reference to this, will illustrate well the state of the country, and the new mode of administering justice. The incident occurred within the last three years.

Anecdote.

A man of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, a man of respectability, who was constantly about the house of Sir James Brooke and at his table, and who was well known to all the Europeans in Sarawak, was suddenly accused of murder. Sir James sent for him in the evening, and took him to his own room. He had his weapons; he was one of the chiefs. The English governor said to him, "Rajah Lee, you are accused of murder. You know the custom of the country; you know I have a friendly feeling towards you; I am very sorry; but you must be tried, and if found guilty, you will be put to death." He said, "Certainly, if I am found guilty, I will suffer death. I will do you no harm. Do you think I would do you any harm, or the native chief (referring to one present) any harm?" Sir James answered, "No, I don't suppose you would, for you are friendly to me; but I know that, at this moment, you would, if you felt inclined." He said, "Why?" "You have got your dagger on," replied the Englishman, "and I am sitting close to you at the table." He instantly pulled it out and passed it across the board, in its sheath, saying, "You take that." Sir James refused to take it, assuring him that he was a man of such respectability, that he would undoubtedly submit to the laws. "Go away to-night," he added, "but come to the court at twelve o'clock, the day after to-morrow; you must be tried for your life, and remember, you will be put to death, if you are found guilty." He said, "Give me a fair trial, I will be there." He came; he was before the judges unarmed; and it is pleasing to add that he was acquitted. Immediately, all who were present rejoiced at his escape, and, convinced of his innocence, shook hands with him. The whole of these proceedings are very simple; the same language is invariably used; there is very little writing; but substantial justice is administered. The courts are composed of a certain number of English gentlemen, mingled with a certain number of natives, who combine the functions of jury and judge. So confident have the people become in these institutions that their forms are imitated even beyond the boundaries of Sarawak.[1]

Courts of justice.

While the social condition of the province is thus improved its prosperity increases, through the development

Industry and trade.

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[1] Sir James Brooke, 29th Nov. 1851.

of industry and trade. The process is steadily progressive. Even the piratical tribes of Serebas and Sakarran, checked in the pursuit of their former vocation, maintain an active commercial intercourse with Sarawak, and exhibit a growing taste for articles of British manufacture. Many native vessels, some of large tonnage, are building in the river, — as many as twenty at a time; a new town is about to be built at the entrance of the Morotobas branch, which will facilitate the river navigation, and a traffic of great promise is springing up where lately there was not a dollar exchanged for the products of British industry. The imports into Sarawak — from Singapore, the Natunas, the Tambellans, Siantan, Sambas, Pontianah, Java, Bali, the north-west coast of Borneo, Labuan, Rhio and Tringanu, amounted in 1850 to $110,810; and in 1851 to $197,166 — an increase of $86,356, with a tonnage of 7,550 tons under British, Dutch, Belgian, Portuguese, Natunas, native and Sarawakian flags. The exports were to the amount of $150,125, an increase during the year of $49,642, with a tonnage of 7,225 tons.[1]

Imports and exports.

Character and actions of Sir James Brooke.

Sir James Brooke, assailed by the feeble scurrility of obscure and unscrupulous detractors, may well, therefore, resign them to the oblivion which will succeed to the obloquy that now blackens their names. It is not before them that he should desire to be justified. He has had honest and manly opponents, who have misconceived the character of his policy, and will doubtless be among the first at a future day to recognise the greatness of his services to mankind. It has been his benevolent ambition to improve for the people of Sarawak the natural advantages they possess in the soil and situation of their country. And if, in making thousands of human creatures happy, in teaching them to live in concord, in giving to them the means of prosecuting their industry, in reclaiming them from their original savage practices and hard precarious modes of life, there be any reward for a good and a great man, then Sir James Brooke is rich indeed, for on him, in unison with the deep and perhaps silent though conscious gratitude of a whole population in the East, will fall the admiration of his own countrymen, and the respect of all the civilised world.

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[1] George Ruppel, *Registry*. *Sing. Free Press.* Jan. 16. 1852.

The Labuan settlement.

Sir James Brooke, as founder of the rising colony of Labuan, sees another work of his own progressing towards the maturity of success. The humble beginnings of the little settlement, its simple buildings, its unfinished town, its partially cleared lands, its extending roads, its harbours, and the growing trade attracted to them[1], form an interesting episode in an historical view of the Archipelago. The colony prospers moderately; and though it has been obstructed by the dilatory and worse than equivocal movements of the Eastern Archipelago Company[2], the experiment of its success may be said to be complete. When a station is established there for steamers between India and China, the advance of the settlement, relieved from the incubus of a feeble and poverty-stricken association, will without doubt be rapid.

Eastern Archipelago Company.

Coal of Labuan.

The coal of Labuan suggests a notice of the various fields which have been discovered in the Archipelago for with the prospective extension of steam navigation in the further East this subject assumes an aspect of the utmost importance. The European governments have during late years made careful researches to ascertain the distribution of coal-fields. Abundant supplies have been discovered in the Tennasserim provinces of India [1], of admirable quality, but apparently liable to spontaneous combustion. On the Malay Peninsula, near Pinang, at various localities along the western coast of that region; at Katani, Ayer Ramni, and Bencoolen; at the entrance of the river Reteh, and along the banks [2], in the Batang Gausal, and the Ingragiri, with, it is supposed, the Kampar, in Sumatra, coal of serviceable quality exists, and also in Banka and Madura.[3] In Borneo Proper [4], on Pulo Keng Arang near the north end of Labuan, at various places on the west-south-west and south-east coasts of Borneo—at Bunut, on the Pontianah, the country of Banjarmassim, where immense deposits are found, Pagattan, and on the Koti river, mines are already worked to supply the steam navigation of the Archipelago—the Netherlands' government alone requiring 10,000 Dutch tons annually. A small field has been found near Makassar in Celebes; but the coal is of a worthless description.[5] It is said that fine specimens have been obtained from the Philippine province of Albay [6]; but the existing notices of them are slight. In the British possession of Labuan, however, large mines have been opened, and contribute much to the importance of that settlement. Among other circum-

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[1] *MS. Account by a Resident.*

[2] This Company was established to promote trade in the Archipelago, but lost the public confidence and forfeited its charter, by proceedings which a court of justice has condemned as equivalent to fraud.

Coal in the East.

Its distribution.

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[1] O'Riley, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 738.

[2] *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 153.

[3] *New Rotterdam Courant*, Sept. 23. 1851.

[4] Low, *Sarawak*, 12.

[5] See *Singapore Free Press*, July 19. 1850, which describes the coal treasures of the Archipelago.

[6] Mallat, *Les Philippines*, i. 122.

stances likely to promote its welfare, is the recent discovery of a rich pearl bank on an islet in the vicinity.[1]

Suppression of piracy.

Necessity for its total extirpation.

Piracy is gradually dying out along the north-west coast of Borneo; but neither this, nor any other part of the Archipelago, can be flourishing or secure until the European governments have extirpated that system, which still rages with destructive activity over those seas. It is no exaggeration to assert that not a week passes without the journals of Singapore recording some act of atrocity committed by marauders on the peaceful traders or villagers of the islands.

Recent instances of piracy.

Captain Bates was, in September 1851, chased in his gig along the coast of Palawan by five pirate prahus, and escaped only with the utmost difficulty; thirty-five men, with two prahus, were carried off about the same time by the Balanini from Mintagal, within sixty miles of Labuan[2]; the Rajah of Mandhar, in Celebes, was early in the year captured by Lanuns[3]; fleets of these rovers were, in October, seen haunting the Karimata passage[4]; the Dutch island of Baweean was, in 1850, attacked by pirates under two Bugis chiefs, who were not easily beaten off[5]; and a trader from Kailli, in October 1851, was assailed by eight buccaneering prahus under the command of a female.[6] The pirates of Tungku have recently scoured the Straits of Makassar in great force, committing many outrages, and sending a few small boats occasionally to haunt the north-west coast of Borneo.[7] These were the wretches who committed the murder of Mr. Burns, and the plunder of the *Dolphin*, and who succeeded in eluding the boats of the

[1] *Singapore Free Press*, April 2. 1852.

[2] Ibid. Nov. 14. 1851.

[3] Ibid. Oct. 17. 1851.

[4] Ibid. Oct. 24. 185

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid. Oct. 31. 1851.

[7] Ibid. Sept. 5. 1851.

Pluto, Semiramis, and *Cleopatra,* under Mr. Spenser St. John, the Acting Commissioner, and Captain Massie, in February 1852.[1]

Injury to trade.

The extent to which the trade of Singapore is injured by these piracies is not easily to be conceived. We now hear of a prahu bound for Kampot in Cambodia, to the British settlements with a cargo of silk and ivory, captured on the voyage[2]; of sea-ports, towns, and villages on the east coast of the Peninsula destroyed by freebooters[3]; of boats captured off Rhio, some of their crew killed, and women stripped naked and left on an uninhabited shore[4]; of forty prahus at a time scouring the Straits of Malacca,—in a word, of outrages committed in every direction, native traders confined to their ports by fear and terror still reigning along the coasts of many of the islands.[5] Some of their pirate haunts have hitherto been proved impregnable; but the British government cannot honourably relax from vigorous exertions until the system is destroyed altogether.

Actual state of Singapore.

The other English establishments in the Archipelago are Singapore, Pinang, and Malacca. Singapore, with a population of 60,000, is one of the most flourishing settlements in the East, its population, trade, and revenue continually increasing. Shipping of all nations crowd its free port, which has never seen a customhouse — from the English and the Dutch, to the Biajus or sea gipsies, bringing in their little skiffs rice, tortoiseshell, and trepang from Celebes, and even from Ternate.[1] More than 1000 square-rigged vessels anchor every year in the roads. Prahus from the southern and eastern parts of the Archipelago — from New Guinea, and Bouton, from Makassar, Mandhar, Kailli, Wajo, and Boni, in Celebes, from Koti, Pagattan, Kayong, Banjarmassim, and other places in Borneo, from Flores and from Lombok, arrive annually with mother-of-pearl, gold-dust, bees' wax, birds of paradise skins, sandal-wood, lac-wood, béche de mére, sarongs, rattans, gutta, coffee, with nutmegs, sago, mats, and other commodities.[2] Even the Dyaks, in their little vessels, have begun to visit it for trade.[3] From these and other sources Singapore derives an ample prosperity, and exhibits a picture of wealth and civilisation, equalled by few cities in the East. Numbers of Chinese have settled there. The lower orders are troublesome; but there are gentlemen of that nation among the inhabitants, as honourable, polished and worthy of friendship, as can be found in any society. One of the most formidable circumstances which render the island unfavourable to Europeans is that its numerous tigers are continually dragging their human prey into the jungle[4], at the rate, indeed, of one a day.[5]

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[1] *Singapore Free Press*, 12th March 1852.

[2] Ibid. June 6. 1851.

[3] Ibid. June 27. 1851.

[4] Ibid. August 15. 1851.

[5] See *Free Press*, 1st July, 1st Sept., Nov. 14., Dec. 5. 1851. Jan. 9., March 12., Dec. 5. 1852, &c.

Extent of its trade.

Chinese inhabitants.

Tigers.

Pinang, though its prosperity is not equally brilliant, may bear comparison with any second-rate Dutch settlement, while in activity it is equal to the first. Malacca will never again, in all probability, rise to its ancient eminence, when it stood as an acropolis of commerce in the further East, and commanded the great highway by which vessels of all nations passed into or emerged from the Indian Archipelago. It still, never-

Progress of Pinang.

Malacca.

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[1] *Free Press*, Oct. 17. 1851.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. Sept. 26. 1851.

[4] Ibid. Nov. 4. 1851., Nov. 14. 1851., Feb. 3. 1852, &c.

[5] Keppel, *Visit to the Indian Archipelago*, i. 9.

theless, occupies a conspicuous position on the frontiers of Insular Asia.[1] It lies in the bend of a fine curving bay, with its southern horn formed by the Aquadas or Water Isles, and is enclosed in the rear by picturesque hills; the rows of Portuguese, Chinese, Chulia, Kling, and Malay habitations mingling with colleges, chapels, the remains of old forts, and bazaars[2]; while a numerous shipping is constantly anchored in its roads. This is the last of the British settlements—and their share of political influence in the Archipelago is thus immensely inferior to that of the Netherlands. The actual position of that power may now occupy our attention.

I have not shrunk from attaching to the Dutch name the odium of many crimes. I shall not want the candour to ascribe to them the merit of many great works. If there be in any part of the whole region, besides Sarawak, and a few districts on the Peninsula, the signs of a regenerated society, it is in the islands on which they have imposed their rule.

Dutch rule.

State of Java.

In Java, the capital of their possessions, an aggregate population of about nine millions and a half[3], being an increase in three years and six months of five hundred thousand, and from 1824[4], of more than three millions[5], bears witness to a comparatively good administration. This is divided between inferior functionaries, who are native, and superior, who are Dutch, and the machine is in its operation harmonised as far as possible with the ancient manners, institutions, and prejudices of the island. There is a simple but a somewhat inconvenient method of taxation; and the peasant is unde-

Administration.

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[1] See J. B. Westerhout, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 171.

[2] Newbold's *Straits Settlements*, i. 110.

[3] *Moniteur des Indes*, ii. 28. 31.

[4] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 197.

[5] Dr. Bleeker, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 75.

niably in a state of serfdom—controlled by troops of Europeans and natives, draughted from the Moluccas, from Celebes, from Madura, from Gillolo, Ternate and Tidor. Yet as he is protected in his home, rewarded for his industry, and well supplied with the common means of life, he may be said to enjoy under Dutch government at least as much happiness as he ever enjoyed before. To a limited extent, the Javanese are admitted to a share in the administration; their orders of nobility are respected, and their feelings are consulted when a choice is made of governors to act over them. The tribunals are venerated by the mass of the people; they are composed of natives, presided over by Europeans, and the administration of justice is not irregular or severe. The finances are controlled in an economical spirit, and if the fiscal burdens be somewhat heavy, the islanders are certainly protected in the enjoyment of their gains. Poverty, indeed, occasionally spreads over considerable tracts of country, reducing their inhabitants to abject misery [1]; but while this may, in some degree, be attributed to defective administation, it would be unjust not to allow that the Netherlands' government is careful to apply every alleviation to the misfortunes of all who are submitted to its rule.

Prospects of the Dutch possessions.

If the Dutch continue with politic liberality to improve their administration, it is possible they may never require arms again to suppress any dangerous insurrection of a people it has cost them so much to subdue. The islanders have become reconciled to the loss of independence; the hopes of the native princes have fortunately been extinguished; tranquillity has long reigned in Java; agriculture is making way among its jungles and woods, and I sincerely hope that Holland may yet present to the world a splendid example of European rule over an Asiatic race.

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[1] See *Singapore Free Press*, June 14th, 1850.

Sumatra.

In Sumatra, a similar system with a few modifications has been established; but the subjection of this island is more recent, and less complete than that of Java. Disturbances occasionally break out, requiring military force for their suppression — and the country is wasted by an intermittent war.[1] Celebes, though it is included by Dutch writers among the possessions of Holland, is not by any means to be considered hers. She has founded settlements upon its coast, and concluded treaties with some of its kings; but the larger proportion of the island is divided among independent states to this day. The whole is divided into: — the residency of Menado, under the jurisdiction of the Moluccas; the territory of the sultan of Ternate, on the east coast —- also under the Molucca government; and the " Government of Celebes " — a great division, " including the remaining part of Celebes, and the surrounding islands, besides the groups south of it, and including Sumbawa." The operation of the Dutch authority is, by its organs, described as threefold. Under its direct control, stand the feudal states of Kajeki Tanette, Telle Wajo, and Luwu. All the other countries and kingdoms form a general confederacy, with the princes of Boni and Goa as its principal members, and the Dutch government as its head, " clothed with the principal attributes of supremacy."[2]

Celebes.

Other settlements.

Influence of the Dutch.

It is the simplest operation of the pen to describe on paper an authority of this extent; but the British Foreign Office does not contain all those documents by which alone, under the treaty of 1824, the Netherlands' government can pretend, in the face of Europe, to that magnificent empire which is claimed for her by advocates more enthusiastic than discreet. The 6th article of that convention stipulates expressly that no "new settlement" shall be formed "on any of the islands in the Eastern seas" by the officers or agents of the two governments, without previous authority from their respective governments in Europe; and the last paragraph of article III. provides for the communication from one government to the other of every future treaty concluded by either power with any of the sovereigns of the Archipelago. The Dutch have communicated very few of their treaties, because some of these are in direct contravention of the great contract of 1824. Great Britain, however, cannot recognise these pretensions. She may ignore the existence of the treaties which have not been communicated to her, and proceed in negotiations with the native powers, as though none had ever been made. If the Dutch stand on the faith of their conventions, they will have to show that they have not continually and systematically violated the engagements they ratified in 1824.

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[1] *Singapore Free Press*, 1st Sept. 1851., Dec. 5. 1851.

[2] *Report of the Minister of the Colonies to the Second Chamber of the States General of Holland.*

Violation of the treaty of 1824.

Five-sixths of the whole Archipelago are claimed by the Dutch as their own possession.[1] Sumatra, Babi, Nias, Mintao, the Pora Isles, Poggi, and the Enganos; Java, Madura, Baweean, the Kangeang, Banka, Biliton, Bintang, Linga, the Natunas, Anambas, and Tambelan, the kingdom of Sambas in Borneo, with the great Pontianah and Banjarmassim residencies, and the Karimata isles — Celebes, Sumbawa, Bouton, Saleyer, Amboyna, Ceram, Buru, Siam, Sangir, Talaut, the Xulla and Bangaai groups, Halmahera, Obie, Batchian, Ter-

Dutch claims.

Their extravagance.

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[1] *Moniteur des Indes.*

nate, Tidor, Waigin, Battanta, Salawattc, Mysole, the Bandas, the Ki, Arru, and Tenimber, a part of Timor —Rotti, Savu, Sumba, Ende, Adenara, Solor, Lombatc, Putare, Ombai, Bali, and Lombok — with the western part of New Guinea — all these are claimed by the Netherlands, and if her political supremacy were not in many of them a simple fiction, they would truly form a magnificent colonial empire. The political geography of the further East, however, is not yet accurately mapped out; nor, indeed, is the region in any respect perfectly known. The recent magnetic survey has added much to science; but still more remains to be determined.[1]

The Dutch, with the exception of their free port at Makassar, exhibit few signs of conversion to a liberal commercial policy. They have systematically thrown obstructions and restrictions in the way of British trade, and they have exposed themselves to retaliation under a provision of our own navigation laws, which may wisely be enforced, not as a protection for ourselves, but as a penalty on them. The Spaniards, in Manilla, have adopted similar means to secure their own commerce from intrusion; but they have never flourished on their monopolising system. Spanish colonisation in the East has been a failure. In the Philippines, especially, this is true. The Spaniards linger there; they do not prosper; their authority is accepted by the people, but has not become a rooted power. Manilla is comparatively rich, and some of the islands are extensively cultivated, but there is no ferment of enterprise, no American energy, no great labour in progress.[2] Languor and apathy characterise

Spanish settlements.

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[1] Elliot's *Magnetic Survey*, *Phil. Trans.* 1851, cxli. 287. The Dutch assisted Captain Elliot with the most genuine liberality.

[2] See Macmicking, *Philippines*, 316.

their operations. Yet their ambition of extended dominion is not extinct. Sir James Brooke recently negotiated a convention with Sulu; but the Spaniards, in his absence, visited the capital and established a "protectorate" over the sultan by driving him to the mountains, where he claims the friendship and protection of the English, with whom he has sealed a treaty.

The Sulu group.

Americans.

The Americans have appeared in the further East, threatening to batter down the inhospitable gates of Japan, and destroy a monopoly which Dutch writers of politic views are no longer desirous of upholding[1] They have also visited Bruné, and concluded a treaty with its sultan, though simply for trade, and not with any political views. But their expansive and aspiring energy is not yet at work in that region. Throughout the Asiatic islands, indeed, there is nowhere to be observed such active and rapid advance as at Sarawak, or such commerce as at Singapore. This, therefore, inspires in me the hope that British influence may be largely and boldly extended in the Archipelago.

Conclusion.

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[1] See *Singapore Free Press*, Dec. 19. 1851.

THE END.